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8 February 1984

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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8 February 1984

# EAST EUROPE REPORT

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CPCZ OFFICIAL SCRUTINIZES SOVIET-CSSR COOPERATION

Prague NOVA MYSL in Czech No 12, Nov 83 pp 13-21

[Article by Miroslav Zavadil, member of the CPCZ Central Committee, principal secretary of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Society: "The Heritage that Lives and Develops (Commemorating the 40th Anniversary of the Signing of the Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Aid and Postwar Cooperation Between the Czechoslovak Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)"]

[Text] That day will forever live in the memory of our nations: on 12 December 1943 the Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Aid and Postwar Cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union was concluded in Moscow. This treaty represented for the nations of Czechoslovakia a clear perspective of their future and became an important milestone in the joint struggle of Czechs and Slovaks, the nations of the Soviet Union and its glorious army against the despised Hitlerian fascism, against its aggression.

Czechoslovakia became the first victim of Hitlerism and it was obvious that the restoration of its independence would require a tremendous exertion of effort and enormous sacrifices. Our country was betrayed and deserted by Western powers and, in combination with the betrayal by the Czech bourgeoisie, was left at the mercy of Hitler's Germany, disarmed and--deprived of the opportunity to defend itself--torn asunder by the Nazis and their fascist cohorts. Goebbels' propaganda clamorously blared that Czechoslovakia was gone forever and erased from the map. Hitler's protector appointees came to Prague to declare a program for the complete eradication of all of our national roots.

The events connected with the conclusion of the historic Czechoslovak-Soviet alliance pact were a definitive confirmation of the fact that the historical development of our nations in the context of the worldwide struggle of progressive and democratic forces of mankind against the assault tools of extreme reactionary forces, fascism, irrevocably pointed toward the reestablishment of an independent Czechoslovak state, of course, on a new basis incorporating social and national justice and, at the same time, a progressive foreign policy linked to the former.

As Klement Gottwald said in the last days of December of 1943 in his address to the nation waging a struggle on the home front, alliance with the Soviet

Union which found its expression in this treaty stands as a guarantee that Munich and everything that followed will never recur. "Our nations, which for centuries have been waging a struggle for their bare existence, can breathe a sign of relief and look ahead with satisfaction to a new, happier future."

The conclusion of the Czechoslovak-Soviet treaty of alliance provided confirmation of the correct foreign policy orientation of the Moscow-based leadership of the CPCZ which promulgated--and in contest with bouregois representatives of the government in exile asserted--a proletarian, revolutionary policy line for the national liberation struggle against fascism. "It can be stated without exaggeration," wrote Jan Sverma "It was the Soviet people who with their strength and heroism saved Czechoslovakia. The Soviet people toppled Hitler's might and placed on the daily agenda a call for uncompromising redress for all wrongs, atonement for all violent duress; the Soviet people gave their fraternal Slavic people of Czechoslovakia the moral strength for their struggle and faith in victory and the future. It is to the merit of the Soviet people, it being a part of their great mission as liberators, that today the entire world recognizes that Czechoslovakia exists as a member with full rights in the international anti-Hitler coalition--that Czechoslovakia exists as part of the future free Europe."

The conclusion of the Czechoslovak-Soviet treaty met with powerful response among our people. The Czechoslovak military unit in the CSSR headed by General Ludvik Svoboda entered into heroic combat engagements side by side with the Red Army, arduous struggle flared upon the occupied territory in partisan detachments, difficult and complex underground operations continued. Nations enslaved by Hitlerism and the treachery of the domestic and foreign bourgeoisie met under the militant banner of struggle for national liberation. The bell of treason tolled by the Czech and Slovak bourgeoisie and its cohorts was replaced by a call to arms of the bugle of honest and valiant combatants, communists and all patriots.

The significance of the treaty of alliance did not become exhausted by the needs of the armed antifascist struggle. "After the fall of Hitler's tyranny, after chasing alien invaders out of our country and after the liberation of our republic, this treaty will provide for us complete security against external threats," pointed out Klement Gottwald as early as December 1943, "and free our hands to concentrate all our efforts on building a new and we hope, happy life in free and independent Czechoslovakia."

The future fully confirmed those words of Gottwald. Many times, particularly during the most trying moments experienced by the new Czechoslovakia, always when the fate of socialism, freedom and independence of our country was at stake--during the attempt at a reactionary coup d'etat in 1948 and the counterrevolutionary plans for liquidation of socialism in the CSSR in 1968--domestic enemies of socialism could not count on armed intervention by their imperialist protectors and instigators. Imperialist circles were well aware that side by side with socialist Czechoslovakia stood its loyal and strong ally, the Soviet Union, who would not hesitate for even a second to come to the aid of fraternal Czechoslovakia in case of need.

Of great importance to the building of socialism in our country was also the fact that following World War II Czechoslovakia became a part of the world-wide socialist community. "And, with the gradual springing up of new socialist countries, there began the formation of an entirely new type of international relations," pointed out Comrade Yuri Vladimirovich Andropov in his address at the occasion of a festive session commemorating the 60th anniversary of the origin of the USSR. "Their basis is formed by unity of ideas, common goals, comradely cooperation with full recognition of the interests, peculiarities and traditions of each individual country. Their basis is the principle of socialist internationalism.... The mechanism of fraternal cooperation finds application in various spheres of the life of our countries and in the various orientations of our collaboration in building socialism. Thanks to our combined efforts we are constantly finding more successful approaches to linking the general interests of the community with the interests of each of its individual countries."

Literally every single day in the postwar life of our country--particularly since the Victorious February of 1948--clearly bears witness to the significance, strength and principal advantage offered by these new relations, the deep, truly vital importance of Czechoslovak-Soviet relations, in which the treaty of 12 December 1943 represents a historical milestone.

All stages of building socialism in our country, all successes attained in building socialism are linked with the fraternal, international and selfless aid of the Soviet Union, with the continuous expansion of mutual cooperation. Socialist industrialization, the introduction of the cooperative system in agriculture, the resolution of the problem of nationalities and the factual providing of all basic social and political rights to the workers class and other working people, in short, all the positive steps that in their consequence basically changed the character of our society, are marked by the beneficent and inspiring influence and example of the Soviet Union, its Leninist communist party, the well-proven experience of the country which as the first in the world pioneered the path to socialism, as well as direct specific aid of the USSR.

That forms only a part of the picture representing the extent and benefits of cooperation between our fraternal countries ensuing from the conclusion of the treaty of alliance of 1943 and its extension in November 1963, a picture representing relations of alliance and cooperation that became the guarantee of the external security of Czechoslovakia and the source of its internal stability and dynamic development.

New conditions and new needs of building socialism required that the new, higher level of relations between both countries be placed on a corresponding contractual basis. This occurred at the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the liberation of our country, when on 6 May 1970 a new Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid between the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was signed.

In his address at the great manifestation of Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship, which took place in the courtyard of the Prague Castle immediately after the



signing of the treaty, Comrade Gustav Husak stated: "In this context it represents an historical document important to our present and our entire future. The new treaty with the Soviet Union guarantees not only a free national life for Czechs and Slovaks and all of our people, the sovereignty of our country, but is also a guarantee of our socialist development and provides great opportunities for cooperation in the sphere of economics, science, culture and in all other areas. When we look with pride over the path traveled by our people in the complex years of building a socialist society over the past 25 years, we can now state that our people can look with hope and confidence ahead to the coming years, to the future."

These words are fully confirmed by specific examples of extensive Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation from past as well as recent years. After all, as long as 33 years ago, in November 1950, came the signing of the first intergovernmental agreement regarding the providing of technical assistance by the Soviet Union to Czechoslovakia in the construction of industrial installations. Over 30 large industrial enterprises and other important installations were built or renovated in Czechoslovakia with USSR assistance, among them, e.g., ferrous metallurgy complexes, two nuclear power plants, plants for production of prefabricated construction components and others, including the construction project of Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship--the Prague subway.

The extent and qualitative level of Czechoslovak-Soviet economic cooperation constantly keep improving and deepening. In the course of the past decades this cooperation has become literally one of the basic pillars supporting the development of our national economy. For Czechoslovakia, a country with very limited sources of raw materials and energy, Soviet supplies of fuels, energy, raw materials, machinery and equipment, industrial fertilizers, raw materials for textiles, and others, are of irreplaceable significance. In the course of the Sixth 5-Year Plan alone we imported from the USSR approximately 90 million tons of crude oil, 60 million tons of iron ore, 30 billion cubic meters of natural gas, 7 billion kilowatt-hours of electric energy, 300,000 tons of cotton, etc. Among the most significant bulk deliveries of the past several years in the area of general engineering belong systems for the renovation of blast furnace No 2 in the East Slovak Ironworks and equipment for a converter steel plant in the Trinec Ironworks. Supplies of Soviet agricultural machinery have been traditionally extensive. There are over 30,000 tractors and harvesters from the USSR at work in our agricultural cooperatives and state farms.

The new and constantly more demanding tasks posed by the new stage in which we find ourselves as well as the complexity of internal and external conditions under which we are carrying out these tasks require not only continued expansion of mutual collaboration, but its deepening to attain a new, higher quality.

Both the 16th CPCZ Congress and the 26th CPSU Congress emphasized that in the upcoming period it will become imperative to intensify mutual cooperation in production, particularly in sectors with the most viable prerequisites for its development--in nuclear engineering, in the production of mining equipment as well as in light industry and in the food industry.

In keeping with the resolutions of both congresses, emphasis must be given by us primarily to improving the effectiveness of the scientific and technological level of production. This requirement is systematically applied also in the Long-Term Program for Specialization and Cooperation in Production Between the USSR and CSSR Till 1990. We are endeavoring to bring the structures of economic mechanisms closer, to establish direct contacts and cooperation of ministries, cooperatives and enterprises participating in cooperation, to establish joint companies.

The key task promulgated by the 26th CPSU Congress and the 16th CPCZ Congress toward carrying out the strategic economic policy is the attainment of a transition of the economy to a prevalently intensive path of development. The decisive condition for achieving intensification of production is the promotion of scientific and technological progress, accelerated and systematic utilization of its most suitable findings in actual production.

The tasks of intensification of the national economy and the attendant task of fully mastering and utilizing scientific and technological progress are very complex and demanding. Their significance can be compared to such basic social changes as socialist industrialization and the collectivization of agriculture. Our society succeeded in mastering these transitions under the leadership of the Communist Party because we used as our starting point well-proven Soviet experiences and applied them, because we always enjoyed full support from the Soviet Union and developed widely based cooperation with it.

This principle applies unconditionally also in the current situation, in an approach to all tasks of intensification of our economy and application of scientific and technological progress. Mutual R&D cooperation in utilizing the enormous scientific and technological potential possessed by that great country multiplies our own potential. After all, some 4.5 million people are engaged in scientific research in the USSR, 1.4 million of them highly qualified scientists concentrated in more than 5,300 R&D institutions where they successfully deal with the most demanding problems of contemporary world science--in the area of space research, in research on thermonuclear synthesis, in research on the magnetohydrodynamic methods for the generation of energy, new technologies in metallurgy, engineering and other sectors.

For that reason, also in keeping with the resolutions of the congresses of our parties and in the spirit of the treaty of alliance of 1970, Soviet and Czechoslovak scientists and engineers will be jointly dealing with over 300 problems and topics. It is envisioned to develop and introduce into production 140 types of new machinery, instrumentation and industrial installations, 14 types of new materials, 95 modern technological processes, 15 automated control systems, etc.

An important role within Czechoslovak-Soviet relations in promoting mutual cooperation is played by mutual trade. The latter is characterized by stable, dynamic development--turnover in mutual trade increased 3.3fold over the past 10 years and in 1980 attained the amount of 7,280 million



transferable rubles. In the course of the 1970's it was developing on the whole faster than the total turnover in our foreign trade and, consequently, the share of the USSR in the total foreign trade turnover of our country increased from approximately 32 percent in 1970 to approximately 35 percent in 1980.

Exchange of goods with the USSR on the basis of concluded treaties and agreements will exceed in the Seventh 5-Year Plan the value of R 50 billion, amounting to approximately 80 percent more than in the preceding 5-year period. The major part of the basic needs of the Czechoslovak economy will continue to be met within the framework of this exchange by deliveries from the Soviet Union. These will include crude oil, natural gas, ores, industrial fertilizers, nonferrous metals, cotton and other raw materials. Certain structural changes will be implemented in Soviet supplies of machinery. Priority will be given to the delivery of complete technological systems, primarily equipment for the construction of our nuclear power plants. Deliveries of machine tools and of equipment for high-voltage electrotechnical engineering will be expanded. Importation of mining equipment, computer technology and automated control systems, construction and road-building machinery, aircraft, etc., will continue.

On the other hand, Czechoslovak exportation of machinery to the USSR will also increase, so that its share in total CSSR exports to the USSR will amount to roughly 70 percent by 1985. Among other products traditionally exported to the Soviet Union will be footwear, textiles, medicines, imitation jewelry, furniture, etc.

Similar examples of Czechoslovak-Soviet mutual cooperation could be cited from every sector of our national economy. This cooperation wields a basic, decisive and unsubstitutable influence on the continued development of socialism in our country, on the successful implementation of the economic and social program of the 16th CPCZ Congress, on the gradual implementation of the strategic line of the economic policy of our communist party. This is cooperation truly developed in the spirit of the new type of international relations which can be practiced only by socialism, by countries whose policy is based on Marxism-Leninism, countries who in pursuing identical basic goals fully respect their individual interests and peculiarities.

Of importance to dealing with key problems of our economy--attainment of improved efficiency, quality and economy of production--is the utilization of Soviet experiences from the movement of innovators and R&D findings. As witnessed by the entire period of building socialism, that practice proved of invaluable benefit to our national economy.

For example, the teamwork form of organization of labor and of remuneration, the introduction of which met with success in Soviet enterprises, leads to reinforcement of collectivism and of mutual assistance, to an improved technical and economic level of production. Its application leads in most enterprises to substantial increases in the productivity of labor.

The sharing of experiences, the joint utilization of findings made in one of the socialist countries is a striking manifestation of socialist

internationalism. It deserves a full range of attention, further expansion and promotion. This does not involve merely the forms of work initiative that constitute the thematic contents of the activity of social organizations. It is highly desirable that all managerial personnel and the relevant organs consider Soviet experiences to be a significant factor in carrying out demanding tasks in the national economy and, accordingly, create the requisite prerequisites for their much wider application in production, as called for by the resolutions of the Eighth Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee.

Mutual comradesly CSSR-USSR cooperation is not limited just to the sphere of the economy. Widely branched out and bilaterally beneficial is also cooperation in the sphere of culture, education, health care, and also sports and tourism, briefly, in all spheres of life of our socialist society. And in all instances it contributes not only to their development, but also to mutual understanding between the people of both of our fraternal countries, to the strengthening and promotion of Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship.

Today's complex and extremely polarized international situation--which can be blamed on the policy of the most reactionary circles of world imperialism, primarily the military-industrial complex of the United States--does not permit our countries to concentrate merely on peaceful cooperation. The concerted effort to provide security for our countries--which was recently demonstrated by an agreement between the CSSR and USSR governments regarding the adoption of measures they will be forced to take against the threat posed to European and world peace in the case of deployment of new American medium-range missiles in Europe--is also a manifestation of the lasting validity of the legacy of the Czechoslovak-Soviet treaty of alliance of 1943. These measures are designed to counter the efforts of ultrareactionary American circles toward changing the strategic balance of forces to their advantage and are compatible with the interest of preserving world peace.

The Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Society [SCSP] also considers its participation in the noble efforts for preserving peace, thwarting the plans of world imperialism's extreme reactionary forces which pose danger to all mankind, to be its constant and primary political, moral, deeply humane duty. For that reason the society uses in its activities various means and methods to clarify for its members and the widest strata of the public the problems attendant to the current international situation. The military plans of imperialism for world domination, explains the basic import of the Leninist policy of peace and peaceful coexistence for building a world without wars, the meaning of USSR's foreign policy and all the peace initiatives it submits on the world forum. It uses to that end both proven and new methods and forms. Among the most successful are, e.g., traditional Leninist discussion meetings which were held this year using as their topic Lenin's words "the dearest thing of all is peace" and which culminated in specific manifestations of full support for the peace-oriented policy of the USSR.

This is one of the key orientations of the SCSP which confirms that the association under CPCZ leadership contributes to all-round development of socialism particularly by carrying out its basic mission as it was formulated

by the 16th CPCZ Congress, "to provide assistance in the development and promotion of the indestructible friendship and cooperation of our nations with the brotherly Soviet people, deepen our knowledge of the life of Soviet people in all areas of social activity..."

The SCSP is purposefully following up in its efforts the activities of its predecessors--the Society for Cultural and Economic Rapprochement with the New Russia and the Association of Friends of the USSR--which under difficult conditions in the bourgeois republic very actively, militantly and with great effect spread the truth about the first land of socialism, strove for friendly relations and all-round rapprochement between the people of both countries.

At the present time the SCSP is carrying out the resolutions of its Ninth Congress of December 1982 in which the key ideas and tasks of the program of the 16th CPCZ Congress are applied to the specific conditions of the organization. As a whole, in the sum of all spheres of our activity--particularly ideological awareness promotion, cultural mass activities, promotion of work activity and initiative--in the sum of many varying methods and forms of activity, the SCSP is endeavoring to become an ever more helpful assistant to the communist party in the continued building of an advanced socialist society, in the education of our citizens toward socialism, particularly our young people, in strengthening the alliance and deepening of friendship and all-round cooperation with the USSR and the Soviet people.

The implementation of the resolutions of the Ninth Congress is on the whole succeeding. The SCSP enjoys herein full support by CPCZ organs and organizations, constantly increasing cooperation with organs and organizations of the National Front as well as effective help from Soviet friends.

It stands to reason that stepping up the effectiveness of the society's efforts encounters also some problems. In many places its activity is accompanied by formalism, stereotypical approaches, manifestations of passivity on the part of members and even of some branch organizations. In order for the SCSP to carry out with improving quality its mission within the system of the National Front, it is imperative to deepen still more the specificity of the organization to make it fully commensurate with the constantly increasing scope and higher level of over-all Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation. While respecting progressive traditions, there is a need to seek and implement new forms that are in harmony with the new situation and systematically adhere to applying a differentiated approach to the society's wide base of membership.

The resolutions of the Ninth SCSP Congress point out solutions in this respect, orient the society to become a constantly better assistant to the CPCZ in implementing its policy, the program of the 16th CPCZ Congress.

In so doing, the SCSP will continue to contribute with dignity to developing the legacy of the Czechoslovak-Soviet treaty of alliance of 1943.

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The four decades that separate us from the signing of this historic treaty have confirmed the deep truth of Klement Gottwald's words that with this treaty our ship of state and nation found a safe haven. They proved that Czechoslovak-Soviet relations and cooperation, based on the principles of the Marxist-Leninist policy of the CPCZ and CPSU, stand in service to socialism, peace and progress in the world.

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HUNGARIANS REPORT ON ROMANIAN ENERGY SHORTAGES

Budapest MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 11 Dec 83 p 13

[Article by Gyorgy B. Walko: "It's Cold"]

[Text] The first alarming news about energy management were published in early November by the Bucharest paper ROMANIA LIBERA: the energy shortage caused by lost and decreased production by hydroelectric power plants has reached the 1,300 megawatt range, water storage facilities ran dry because of the drought, turbines in hydroelectric plants have been forced to shut down. By mid-November the daily energy shortage reached 1,500 megawatts. Central [remote] heating in residential districts had problems starting up in previous weeks, and by then there were serious problems with supplying heat. Under duress, people tried to heat their apartments with kitchen gas stoves, and gas pressure dropped to half and then to one-fourth due to the suddenly increased gas consumption. The cold weather persisted and it became obvious that the Romanian leadership will be forced to take emergency administrative measures because of the severe energy shortage.

This year they introduced new restrictions of a different quality which will mean unheard-of hardships in Romania's everyday life which is used to energy supply problems. The party's political executive committee, the national council and the government on 25 November adopted the energy limitation resolution according to which the population's energy consumption must be decreased by no less than 50 percent, as must the energy needs of non-production processes and public lighting. This is a strictly mandatory limitation. In the spirit of the resolution the energy control committees that were established in the factories last year were re-established as quickly as within three days, and in residential districts the "patrols" checking frugality with energy are conducting regular systematic control activity. Installation of new electricity-consuming devices in apartments is prohibited, radiant heaters and space heaters have been removed from the stores, heating apartments by gas is forbidden, refrigerators must be disconnected, and the use of vacuum cleaners and other nonessential household appliances must be discontinued. Electricity is being shut off for several hours at a time since early November. In apartments as well as in factories the high wattage light bulbs must be replaced, side rooms may be lit by only 15 watt bulbs, localized illuminating elements must be used instead of central lighting, lights illuminating the backyards of houses and enterprises



must be removed, and the lighting of stairwells must be cut to one-half. Theaters, movie houses and libraries are not heated at all, or the radiators are just barely lukewarm. Several swimming pools have been shut down and the ice rinks did not open.

The starting times of work shifts have been changed so that as little artificial lighting would be needed as possible. The second shift does not start in the afternoon but at 10 PM, in order to avoid the afternoon and evening hours with their peak loads, and wherever production is of a non-continuous nature the third shift has been combined with the second. The teaching schedules have also been changed in schools and universities, mainly where teaching is conducted in two shifts, morning and afternoon. The business hours of stores and the restaurant industry are also adjusted to the energy limitations—the goal is that as little electricity be used as possible.

But remote heating continues to represent the real problem. At best the apartments are no warmer than 15-16 degrees C, but in some districts of the capital city they cannot even provide 10 degrees C. Recently, water supply problems were added to the problems: on upper floors often there is no water for several hours, and by night the taps have been dry for a long time. Even before, warm water supply was provided only during certain parts of the day, but it is completely unpredictable now when there will be warm water.

A complete list of the limitations can not be given since different solutions are being tried in various residential districts and cities.

Without a doubt the direct reason for the severe energy shortage is the drought, the shutdown of the hydroelectric power plants. However, this by itself would not have caused such a severe energy shortage since the hydroelectric power plants supply about 20 percent of the country's energy needs. But the start-up of coal-fired thermal power plants being behind schedule, delays in maintenance and major overhauls, and in some places work performed negligently, did represent extraordinary problems. The high capacity power plant blocks did not start up on time, or were forced to shut down because of breakdowns. The quality of coal shipped to the power plants continues to be a problem compared to recent years—the mines often shipped coal contaminated with mud, stone, scrap iron and other foreign matter. Besides this the coal shipments are late or do not arrive at the predefined schedule. Coal mining must also solve extraordinary problems, implement strenuous schedules. The amount of coal mined now is 25 percent more than last year. The ratio of coal mining is being further increased: in 1970 the ratio of petroleum and natural gas in electrical energy production was 61 percent, by 1980 this decreased to 40 percent and by 1990 hydrocarbons will represent only 5 percent in the energy balance. But the mining of high heating value coal cannot be very well increased, and thus brown coal and lignite are also being appreciated more highly. But burning low calorie content coal contaminated with sulfur makes special technological solutions necessary and the installation of the necessary equipment is often late and runs into problems. According to a program just now published, the entire spectrum of energy

management furnaces, electricity generating machinery groups, and auxiliary equipment will be redesigned by 1985, new furnaces will also be built which will be suitable for being fueled by the so-called fluid bed lignite combustion and burning bitumenous slate. The present practice is to blend the coal to be burned in the power plants with oil or oil derivatives to ensure continuous combustion. The purpose is to minimize the oil requirements of coal-fired power plants.

Depending on the branches of industry, 20-30-50 percent more energy is used in Romania for products than in other countries. Such great reserves are still there in industry that within a short time energy consumption could be decreased by even 10-15 percent--at least this is how the Romanian leadership judges the situation. In order to judge the future situation of the energy supply one must know that the volume of production is not planned to decrease in the future either. The non-final 1984 plan projection expects a 10 percent growth, which will obviously create a supplementary energy demand.

In addition to this the population's energy consumption is also constantly increasing, even though according to the most recent official data it amounted to only 7.3 percent of the total energy consumption. But 108,000 apartments will be turned over to their occupants this year, and the rate of housing construction is not decreasing either.

Of course the energy limitation measures cannot represent a long range solution, they only contribute to solving the temporary difficulties. Only the radical decrease of industrial energy consumption can result in lasting improvement of the situation, and this is the very aim of the long range program published last week. This describes in detail the sphere of measures designed to improve the technological standards of products, to decrease raw materials and energy consumption, and to better utilize the raw materials. Breaking it down by branch, it defines the ratio of "products to be manufactured at or above world-wide standards" until 1990. At the present time the import of energy sources makes up about 10 percent of the total energy requirement, but the goal is to provide the total energy production over the long range from domestic resources. This is the long range goal, but the leading thought today is: the least expensive energy is that which is not consumed.

Reprint from Hungarian language HARGITA Romanian paper:

"Residents of Our Country! The need demands that we decrease household energy consumption and public lighting by 50 percent! We should avoid all unnecessary consumption and eliminate all forms of waste! In the interest of the whole country and of all of us, we must manage the electrical current frugally! Workers, Engineers, Technicians! We must do everything in our power to definitely decrease energy consumption on every job! We must prevent all forms of electricity and heating material waste in our economic operating units! We must take a determined stand to be able to fully conform to the lawful consumption standards necessary for continuous production!"

EXCESSIVE NUMBER OF PARTY MEMBERS IN MINISTRIES CRITICIZED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 24 Nov 83 p 2

[Article by Halil Lalaj: "In Regard to a Ratio"]

[Excerpts] Returning, once again, to the recommendation of the party that there be a proper proportion between workers who are communist party members and nonparty members in the ministries.

Some 50 percent of the cadres in the Ministry of Energy are communist party members. The figure is 51 percent in the State Planning Commission and close to that in the Ministry of Industry and Mines, the Ministry of Foreign Trade and other ministries. It is even higher in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Supreme Court. More than once, the party has criticized the excessive number of party members in our ministries. Comrade Enver [Hoxha] points out that such a practice has its roots in the sectarian tendencies of the cadres who deal with this problem, who think that it is good for us to have party members in every management position, at every level of management.

We can compare the above proportions with others, which indicate wiser choices. Only 33 percent of the workers in the Ministry of Agriculture are party members and only 26.7 percent of those in the Ministry of Finance and 34 percent of those in the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Communications are communists.

What is the most acceptable ratio between party members and nonparty members in the ministries? There should be as many communists as necessary in a ministry. The main thing is that they have one or more basic party organizations, that they handle the work competently and that they be directed in a skilled manner. The opinion is that where there are fewer party members, their small number does not prevent the work from being properly managed. Then why is it necessary to overload these staffs with party members?

In order to prevent such a practice it is important, first of all, to know all its bad effects. Operating in this manner, one creates an obstacle to the full implementation of the teaching of Lenin which stresses: "It is essential that the broad, nonparty masses control all the operations of the

state and learn to govern themselves." And there is another bad effect. Some time ago, a number of workers were transferred from the Ministry of Foreign Trade to some other jobs, but there were no party members among them. But the grassroots needs communists and the communist needs the grassroots.

What is the opinion of the comrade directors in the ministries on this matter?

Llambi Leka, secretary of the party bureau in the Ministry of Communications said: "We have tried to implement, carefully and without spontaneity, the ratio of party members to nonparty workers as well as to bring skillful and capable workers into the ministry."

In comparison with these two mature assessments, we cannot help but criticize the two opinions expressed to us by Comrade Agron Cuedari, deputy minister of energy. His first opinion was: "The problem has been studied by the basic organizations and it has been concluded that this ratio will be kept in the future. Compared to others we are doing well." Actually, half the workers in this ministry are party members. His second opinion was: "There are practical difficulties. Whenever we bring new people into the ministry, we seek the best. But the best have been party members. In my opinion, if you are not admitted into the party either you do not have the necessary political collateral or you do not commit yourself to assume difficult responsibilities." The incorrectness of this opinion is demonstrated by the fact that people in all the ministries talk about the fine work done by workers who are not party members, people such as the director of statistics in the State Planning Commission, the director of the Directorate for Mother and Child in the Ministry of Health, the director of finance in the Ministry of Finance and many others. These people are not communist party members. Some of them are even deputy ministers. They have been placed in their jobs because they are outstanding.

When a person is admitted to the party, the basic organization acts in accordance with the interests of the party, not in accordance with the interests of the person seeking admission. This should be taken into consideration when we take a party member from the grassroots and bring him to the ministry. But it happens that people think like this: He is a good man, skillful, and a communist. It is true that he is good but removing him from the grassroots interferes with operations and another person could be found for the directorate.

And finally, a few words about the work of the party committee in Region No 1 of Tirana. Sometime ago, this committee discussed this problem in a seminar with the secretaries of the basic party organizations of the ministries. However, information received indicates that the matter is not being followed up by some of the party organizations in the ministries or by the region party committee. Otherwise, there is no reason why approximately the same situation as several years ago, which the party has criticized, should



still prevail. On the other hand, in this analysis it is not advisable for us to concern ourselves merely with figures and statistics. We should be examining those opinions and concepts which prevent workers or intellectuals with a wide scientific and cultural horizon, who are devoted to the interests of the party, regardless of whether or not they are party members, from being placed in management positions and employed as specialists in the state organs.

CSO: 2100/23



## BRIEFS

**VLORE PARTISAN ANNIVERSARY**--The people of Vlore today welcomed with affection and revolutionary enthusiasm former partisans of the Fifth Shock Brigade, who gathered in the city to celebrate the jubilee of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the brigade. A ceremony was held at the cemetery of war martyrs, which was attended by former partisans of the Fifth Shock Brigade, relatives, citizens, and others. A wreath was laid before the monument devoted to those who fell during the war. A rally was held in the Hysni Kapo Square in the city of Vlore. Those present welcomed with ovations the arrival of Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee secretary and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; former cadres of the Fifth Shock Brigade; Manush Myftiu, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Shefqet Peci, AWP Central Committee member and chairman of the National Committee of War Veterans; Vito Kapo, AWP Central Committee member; Enver Halili, first secretary of the Vlore District AWP Committee; and Luan Muhameti, chairman of the Vlore District People's Council Executive Committee. [Excerpts] [AU211739 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 21 Jan 84]

**NEW COLOMBIAN AMBASSADOR**--Tirana, 18 Jan (ATA)--The newly-appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Colombia to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Alvaro de Angulo Arboleda arrived in our country yesterday. He was welcomed at the airport by the chief of the protocol branch at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Jovan Antoni. [Text] [AU212018 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 18 Jan 84]

**PRK GREETINGS**--Recently, Comrade Enver Hoxha, first secretary of the Albanian Party of Labor Central Committee; Comrade Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania; Comrade Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, sent a message to thank Comrade Heng Samrin, general secretary of the KPRP Central Committee and chairman of the PRK Council of State, and Comrade Chan Si, chairman of the Council Ministers. The message reads: We would like to sincerely thank you for your greetings on the occasion of the 39th anniversary of the fatherland and the victory of the Albanian People's revolution. On this occasion, we would like to present our wishes to the Kampuchean people. May they score more and greater victories in the strengthening, defense of freedom, national independence, and construction of their country against the imperialists and other reactionaries. We are confident that friendly relations between our two peoples will develop steadily. On that occasion, Comrade Reiz Malile, Albanian foreign minister, also sent a message to thank Comrade Hun Sen. [Text] [BK210801 Phnom Penh Domestic Service in Cambodian 0430 GMT 21 Jan 84]

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

TRANSPORTATION MINISTRY ORDER ON FOREIGN OVERFLIGHTS

East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German Part I  
No 29, 2 Nov 83 pp 289-290

[Official text: "Order on Overflight of the State Borders of the German Democratic Republic by Civil Aircraft of Other States, of 27 October 1983," effective 1 Feb 1984.]

[Text] Pursuant to Article 16 of the 25 March 1982 law on the state borders of the GDR--border law--(GBL Part I No 11 p 197), and in consensus with the heads of the competent central official organs, the following is ordered:

Article 1 -- Range of Application

This order applies to flights coming into the sovereign area and overflights of the sovereign area of the GDR by civil aircraft of other states (henceforth referred to as flights). Separate regulations apply to flights of official aircraft and civil aircraft of other states with important military freight aboard.\*

Article 2 -- Kind of Permission and Competency

(1) Official permission (henceforth referred to as permission) for overflight of the state borders of the GDR, as to Article 49 in the 27 October 1983 law on aviation--aviation law--(GBL Part I No 29 p 277) may be granted as

1. permission in the form of accords under international laws on the basis of reciprocity for any kinds of flights;
2. operational permission for opening airline service;
3. permission for flights carried out on the basis of confirmed and published flight traffic schedules (airline flights);
4. permission for airline flights carried out in excess of the number set down in the flight traffic schedule (airline duplication flights) or where one aircraft as listed in the flight traffic schedule is replaced by a larger aircraft for capacity expansion (change in type);
5. permission for flights in business air traffic (non-scheduled flights); and
6. permission for business traffic flights for one's own purposes, business travel and sports and other non-commercial purposes and flights to extend humanitarian help (other flights).

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\*In effect at this time is Article 16 Paragraph 5 of the 25 March 1982 law on the state borders of the GDR--border law--(GBL Part I No 11 p 197).

(2) The competency for granting permission as to Paragraph 1 Figures 2 through 6 lies with the transportation ministry--main civil aviation administration-- (henceforth referred to as aviation administration).

#### Article 3 -- Range of Permission

(1) The permission as to Article 2 Paragraph 1 Figures 2 through 6 entails the authorization of the flight plan and, to the extent that in line with business air traffic a commercial landing is intended in a GDR airport, the transportation charges and terms. Commercial landings are landings of aircraft to let off or take on passengers, mail and freight for pay.

(2) The permission may be limited in time and be granted conditionally; it may come with quotas.

(3) For duplication airline flights and type changes the aviation administration may grant a blank permission if the home state of the aviation agency intending to carry out these flights ensures reciprocity for duplication airline flights and type changes in flights of aviation agencies with their seat in the GDR.

(4) In cases of Article 2 Paragraph 1 Figures 2 through 6, the aviation administration, to ensure reciprocity, may apply the conditions to the prerequisites and granting of permission which the home state of the requesting aviation agency in similar cases applies to flights by aviation agencies with their seat in the GDR.

#### Article 4 -- Applicants

Applications for the granting of permission are to be sent by the aviation agency with the aircraft of which the flight is to be undertaken in writing or by teletype to the aviation administration. If the flight is to be undertaken by an airline that is not also the aviation agency of the aircraft, the airline that wants to undertake the flight has to make the application.

#### Article 5 -- Airline Application Deadlines

Unless other arrangements are in effect under international law treaties to which the GDR is a partner, the aviation administration must be in the possession of --applications for being granted operational permission and the permission for airline flights at least 30 days prior to the opening of airline traffic or the beginning of a given airline schedule;

--applications for being granted the permission for duplication airline flights and type changes, at least 3 working days prior to the intended flight.

#### Article 6 -- Application for Non-scheduled and Other Flights

(1) Applications for granting the permission for non-scheduled and other flights must be in the possession of the aviation administration for

(a) flights without stopping at a GDR airport, at least 2 working days prior to the overflight of the GDR state borders;

(b) flights with stop at a GDR airport, at least

- 15 working days for a series of more than 6 flights
- 10 working days for a series up to 6 flights
- 3 working days for single flights.

(2) If help within the scope of humanitarian tasks requires an immediate flight, the previously named schedules do not apply.

(3) The aviation administration may, pursuant to recommendations from interstate organizations, hand over to the flight controllers the decision on permission applications for flights without stop at a GDR airport and curtail the application deadlines if the permission is sought merely for the reason that the air space of neighboring states is blocked or subject to detours, and reciprocity is ensured for flights of aviation agencies with their seat in the GDR in the home state of that aviation agency.

#### Article 7 -- The Content of the Application

(1) Applications for being granted permission must contain, in the following sequence:

- (a) Aircraft call sign and nationality and license;
- (b) flight rules and type of flight;
- (c) number of type/types of aircraft and turbulence drag category;
- (d) takeoff airport and expected takeoff time and location and expected time of border overflight;
- (e) flying speed (in km/h), altitude (metric flight level in decameters) and route;
- (f) airfield of destination and approximate arrival time;
- (g) flight day and time of flights, for single flights, date of the flight;
- (h) name and address of aviation agency and, if the flight is to be undertaken by a different airline, name and address of that airline;
- (i) complete name and citizenship of the pilot;
- (j) number of crew members;
- (k) purpose of the flight;
- (l) maximum takeoff weight of the aircraft;
- (m) at a stop in a GDR airport
  - number, category and origin of passengers
  - type and volume of cargo
  - name and address of the charterer in case there is one;
- (n) at a commercial landing in a GDR airport for business, on the request from the aviation administration, data on tariffs and/or charter rates;
- (o) information on the aviation agency's insurance.

(2) Applications for flight permission for sick persons within the scope of humanitarian aid must contain in addition:

- (a) the patient's last and first name, date of birth, citizenship and passport number;
- (b) the patient's place of residence and destination;
- (c) the diagnosis;
- (d) names, citizenships and passport numbers of the accompanying medical personnel or of other persons;
- (e) if the case calls for it, information on ground transportation especially arranged to or from the airport and other desired extra care by the airport medical service.



(3) Applications for being granted the permission for search and rescue flights must contain, at least, the data under Paragraph 1 Letters a, d, e, f, and k; other data called for in Paragraph 1 may be waived by the aviation administration.

(4) In applications for being granted operations permission or the permission for airline and duplication flights and flights with type changes, the aviation administration may waive some of the data called for in Paragraph 1 if it has all the information it needs to decide on the application.

#### Article 8 -- Other Provisions

(1) The granting of the permission does not infringe on the obligation to report flights to the GDR flight comptroller service.

(2) The permission does not include the confirmation of scheduled and other conditions for technically and commercially taking care of the aircraft in a GDR airport. Such a confirmation has to be requested by the application at once, in writing or by teletype, and properly timed, at the latest within the application schedules for the permission, from the GDR air transportation enterprise Interflug.

(3) If flight plans, aircraft types, entry data or line numbers are changed for flights already authorized, the GDR air comptroller service has to be informed about that without delay.

(4) If the time permitted for an overflight of the state borders of the GDR is exceeded by more than 24 hours, non-scheduled and other flights have to re-apply for permission.

#### Article 9 -- Taking Effect

(1) This order takes effect on 1 February 1984.

(2) It rescinds at the same time the 25 May 1964 order on granting incoming flight and overflight permissions for civil aircraft of other states in the domain of the GDR (GBL Part II No 61 p 575).

5885

CSO: 2300/239



GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

'SEVERAL HUNDRED THOUSAND' COLLABORATE IN PROSECUTING CRIMINALS

East Berlin STAAT UND RECHT in German Vol 32 No 11, Nov 83 (signed to press 21 Sep 83) pp 873-880

[Article by Prof Hans Weber, member of the GDR Academy of Political and Legal Science: "Theoretical Problems of the Effectiveness of Criminal Prosecution"]

[Text] The "Central Research Plan of the Marxist-Leninist Social Sciences in the GDR, 1981-1985" commits political and legal sciences to make greater efforts "toward contributing to the consolidation of legality, security and order. The focal point there is exploring the causes for crimes and other law violations and ways to do away with them, working out the most effective forms and methods in the activity of the state organs and the organization of the activity of all public forces in the fight against crimes and other law violations, to create an atmosphere of respect for the law and of deliberately abiding by the norms of socialist law."<sup>1</sup> That task implies exploring and elaborating conditions and ways for further enhancing the effectiveness of criminal law and criminal prosecution.

In the GDR's political and legal science, which includes criminology and the science of criminal law and of criminal procedure, and in official governmental activity, the problems of enhancing the effectiveness of crime fighting have played a considerable role for some time.<sup>2</sup> One proceeds from the consideration there that the working class party and the socialist state have always been interested in steadily improving the effectiveness of crime fighting. In the various phases of social development tasks have been set down and implemented in line with any given conditions. The chief concern has been to bring the nature and advantages of socialism ever more effectively into force and visibly and persuasively to project its superiority over capitalism. That high effectiveness has been ensured through making criminal prosecution fit the conditions and requirements of social development. That is part and parcel of socialist society itself. It is a process in which the socialist character of criminal prosecution comes to the fore ever more clearly. That greatly explains why crime in the GDR could be significantly curbed, so that the GDR today, with 719 crimes per 100,000 inhabitants (1982), is among the ten countries in the world with the lowest incidence of crime.<sup>3</sup>

If at all that the assignment has been given to explore the effectiveness of preventing and fighting crimes, criminal prosecution included, and to work out ways to improve it, it is not because there are serious problems of development and in crime fighting. The need exists rather because

—crime has a negative effect under the conditions of the continued shaping of the developed socialist society on the further development of public relations, the implementation of the SED's economic strategy, and the law security and comfort of the working people;

--precisely because of the successes thus far in curbing crime further advances can only be made if the causes for crime are more thoroughly understood, the educational effect is improved and crime prevention is strengthened;

--the public forces in preventing and fighting against crime have grown and must be made still more effective;

—scientific-technical progress produces new problems in preventing and fighting against crime but also new opportunities for effectively curbing crime;

--the working people's need for law security and comfort has grown so that they also make higher demands for protection from crimes and the prosecution of crimes; and

--the exacerbated class conflict between socialism and imperialism and the threat to peace and socialism emanating from the most aggressive imperialist circles raise higher demands for the protection of the socialist accomplishments, public safety and order, and the citizens' rights and interests.

Improving the effectiveness of criminal prosecution in socialism is also needed because—as the SED Program puts it—"instilling a deliberate abiding by socialist legal norms, for the protection of socialist property, including the protection from breakdown and fires, a conscious discipline and high vigilance, is among the most important tasks of the official organs and social organizations and each and every citizen. Strictly observing socialist legality requires proper punishment for law violations."<sup>4</sup>

Research proceeds from that this effectiveness is not primarily due to the law and its administration but to an ever better use of the advantages of socialism under the given conditions and possibilities. Exploring the effectiveness of criminal prosecution and the possibilities for improving it therefore primarily means investigating the conditions for its public effectiveness and for the mechanism under which it functions specifically. The research focal point lies in the questions of how the advantages of socialism can still better be utilized for enhancing the effectiveness of criminal prosecution, how the dialectic in the continued shaping of the developed socialist society is reflected and applied in criminal prosecution, and what the problems are that arise in ensuring high effectiveness. It is important there for research to take as its point of departure the specific role of the contradictions under the conditions of the continued shaping of the developed socialist society, the foundations of their development and the chances for resolving them.<sup>5</sup> In this context one must also work out what the influence has been on it of the exacerbating class conflict between socialism and imperialism.

Further enhancing the effectiveness of preventing and fighting against crime implies strengthening the effectiveness of all public factors and processes that prevent crime from occurring or are aimed at an efficient and effective crime prosecution. That also turns criminal prosecution into a complex activity by

official and public organs aimed at the disclosure and investigation of crimes and the ascertaining and execution of criminal responsibility. Future research has the task to explore the overall criminal prosecution process in its various elements and interactions.

In research thus far on problems in the effectiveness of criminal prosecution specific elements have usually been treated in the overall criminal prosecution process such as the penalty, the criminal proceedings, the participation by public forces in criminal proceedings or the sentencing. About the total complex of criminal prosecution there has however hardly been any scientific treatment. Criminal prosecution is a comprehensive official activity aimed at curbing and preventing crime. It carries out this influence by

- disclosing and investigating crimes,
- ascertaining criminal accountability,
- pronouncing, adjudicating and handling the criminal liability measures,
- the effective administration of all these measures, including prison sentences and the reintegration of persons after their sentence is terminated,
- bringing an influence to bear on the elimination of causes and conditions for crimes, and
- effective publicity and drawing the citizens into participating in the formation and consolidation of socialist legal consciousness.

Criminal prosecution is a streamlined process with several interacting aspects. While it is not identical with any of these elements, it includes the administration of criminal law, the criminal proceedings and the order of criminal investigation, the adjudication, the penalty, its working mechanism and effectiveness. It follows from this that criminal prosecution cannot be assigned to only one or some official organs. It is not a departmental task. Although the justice and security organs bear the major responsibility for it, other official organs, enterprises and institutions and public organizations as well have to assume tasks in criminal prosecution. That is true, for instance, of the investigation into crimes, the participation in criminal proceedings and the education and reintegration of criminal law violators.

Criminal prosecution is the tasking area of several branches of law. Along with criminal and criminal procedure law, administrative, labor and civil law also deal with it. That does not turn the various science disciplines into one general "science of criminal prosecution" nor must it lead to neglecting the theoretical work in the various science disciplines (such as criminal law or criminal procedure law). Nor must one be afraid that it will, as all experience thus far in the collaboration among various science disciplines in exploring complex problems has shown that impulses arose from it for the participating branches of science, new questions were raised and solutions were found. What is needed is the further elaboration of, particularly, the long-range problems of the various branches of law playing a role in criminal prosecution.

By effectiveness in criminal prosecution we mean--as indeed by any effectiveness in official activity and in the law altogether<sup>6</sup>--actually accomplishing the goals as intended. This expresses how criminal prosecution affects all the processes referred to that have to do with crime fighting. What makes it peculiar is that it is an activity which in a given case is started by a crime having been committed. The effectiveness criteria hence are not identical with the effectiveness of particular elements of criminal prosecution, such as the penalty<sup>7</sup> or the criminal proceedings.



The effectiveness of criminal prosecution is gaged against how well the effects referred to are made to prevail. That means it is largely determined by the degree to which crimes are uncovered and settled. The extent to which crimes become known or remain latent depends on various circumstances, not last on the level of management activity in the area concerned. For instance, rigorously enforcing economic cost accounting is an important condition for preventing, or at least soon disclosing, crimes against socialist property and the national economy. In the GDR the offender is ascertained in 80 to 85 percent of known criminal acts committed, in serious crimes even 95 to 98 percent.<sup>8</sup> Criminal prosecution activates a considerable number of public forces and has a great influence on the working people's national and legal consciousness.

Criminal prosecution activates protective, educational and preventative functions and makes a contribution to mobilizing and organizing public forces against crime. The task of criminal prosecution is not to abolish crime and its causes; that is a sociopolitical problem that can be settled only through pervasive transformations in the process of the continued shaping of the developed socialist society.

The chance is there to mobilize public forces for preventing and fighting crimes because socialism is a social order the further shaping of which of necessity curbs or abolishes public relations or factors that engender criminal conduct. There is no class or stratum in socialism that could be interested in the survival of criminality or, worse, whose living conditions would need criminality. So it is a common basic interest of the entire socialist society to prevent and fight crimes and educate the law violator (Penal Code, Article 1). That also forms the basis for the real equality and justice in criminal prosecution. Nor has socialism in its criminal prosecution any privileged or discriminated-against classes and strata, as is the case--openly or disguisedly--in any exploiter society. Socialist society guarantees all people equal safety from crimes whereby it creates a high rate of legal security and safety as a firm component of social security.

All people who have committed crimes are given the opportunity to resume their place as equal and equally obligated members of society, without any discrimination, through probation and restitution. This brings out that criminal prosecution plays a great educational and integrative role in socialism, with the purpose of reintegrating people who have committed crimes without however having placed themselves, through especially grave crimes, outside of society, and of affording them the possibility to lead an honest life. Socialist society in its criminal prosecution knows no outsiders, dropouts or fringe groups of society which are part of any exploiter society and have become a permanent mass phenomenon in today's imperialism. Among us criminal prosecution also means taking care of people who have difficulties in their relations with socialist society and live under hard conflicts (such as asocial elements and recidivists). Effectiveness means making a better use of these opportunities for educating those people.

Effectively preventing and curbing crime also is a requirement of social progress in socialism. Socialism is getting ever better control on the unity between scientific-technical, economic and social progress. It means that every scientific-technical advance has to crystallize in economic and social progress. Scientific-technical progress in socialism is the source for the

progress of society on the whole. Among other things, it opens up great possibilities for resolving social problems that are connected with criminality and for preventing and curbing it. That makes social progress in socialism an important public force in the fight against crime. Socialism refutes the contention by many bourgeois ideologues that progress is bound to bring about more and more crime and that, in fact, galloping criminality is a necessary attribute of, or price for, social progress. Socialism has overcome the antagonistic nature of progress which is typical of imperialism. There, scientific-technical and economic progress coincides with social retrogression, the suppression and increased exploitation of the working people, arms buildup and war, and ever increasing criminality that engulfs more and more all domains of public life, all classes and strata of the population and becomes a means itself for the exercise of power and profiteering by the ruling monopoly bourgeoisie.<sup>9</sup>

In capitalism, private property and the entrepreneurs' standpoint of being the boss in their own house obstruct all effective use of scientific-technical progress for preventing and fighting crimes. The profit orientation, e.g., obstructs effective education during the execution of sentence because the prisoners are forced to perform primitive work or are unemployed.<sup>10</sup> It is solely up to the entrepreneur whether someone who has his sentence behind him gets another job. That is reflected by the fact that, under FRG legislation e.g., there is no known obligation on the part of entrepreneurs to make jobs available for persons released from prison. Article 74 of the FRG execution of sentences law, e.g., merely prescribes this: "To prepare for his release, a prisoner is to be counseled on settling his personal, economic and public affairs. Such counseling includes referring him to the organizations that handle the social benefits. The prisoner is to be assisted in finding work, a domicile and personal aid for the time after his release."<sup>11</sup>

Enhancing the effectiveness of criminal prosecution greatly depends on how much it helps bring to the fore the impulses of social progress. That includes assistance in resolving the contradictions and disturbances that are connected with scientific-technical progress and could affect the trend of property, economic or negligence criminality. That further includes the opportunities offered by science and technology, in making ever better use, on the one hand, of the analysis of crime causes and development and their prevention and curbing, and in exploiting it, on the other hand, for the education and reintegration of criminals while spotting problems arising in good time and working out ways to solve them.

An important guarantee for high effectiveness in criminal prosecution is the working people's exercising their right to take a part in criminal prosecution, as guaranteed by Article 21 of the Constitution, Article 6 of the Penal Code and Article 4 of the Code on Criminal Procedure. Criminal prosecution is all in the open in socialism with the working people taking a broad part in it. It pulls criminality out of the dark, as it were, whereby it mobilizes large public forces for crime fighting and prevention. Several hundred thousand people are involved in the criminal prosecution of the GDR, e.g., by reporting to and notifying the justice and security organs, in ruling on criminal liability (as lay judges or members of social courts), in attending collective consultations, as representatives of the collective, public prosecutors or defense attorneys, as volunteer associates or custodians of ex-convicts, as youth counselors and so forth.



What matters is further to improve the conditions for effectively exercising these democratic rights. That entails greater differentiations in participation. Work collectives play a significant role here. They are an essential component of socialist democracy, as attested to by the law on work collectives passed in June 1983 by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.<sup>12</sup> They fulfil important tasks in the management and planning of society, the consolidation of legality, safety and order, and the education of law violators. The participation by work and other collectives in criminal prosecution should be rendered more effective. Often, in conferences and assessments by collectives the focus, still too one-sidedly, is placed on the person of the indicted or accused and the ascertaining of their negative or positive traits. This is sometimes done without regard to the facts in the case of the criminal prosecution, often not sufficiently act-related.

The collectives deal relatively seldom with the causes and conditions of a criminal act. But when you come right down to it, those are mainly causes within the action sphere of the collectives, which they could keep in view and affect. The collectives cannot be expected to have anything to say about causes and conditions outside their action radius which sometimes call for expertise in complicated public events (as, e.g., in crimes against the economy). The collectives have trouble with the education of people with considerable disciplinary and integrative difficulties (many recidivists, asocial elements, people who loaf on the job). There is a whole number of particulars because such offenders usually are not firmly integrated in work collectives and show entrenched negative attitudes and educational deficits, are largely isolated from society and have vastly remained behind social development. The job is to find out thoroughly what chances there are within a collective to exercise an educational influence on such people.

Criminal prosecution in socialism largely owes its high effectiveness to the fact that it combines the prosecution of individual acts and individual criminal liability with crime prevention in a meaningful sense. This is a task that can be resolved in socialism because the prosecution of any given act of crime is embedded in a social process aimed against crime and its causes. The contradiction of capitalist society is alien to it which, on the one hand, massively and at an ever increasing scale, as a system engenders criminality but, on the other hand, arrogates the right to punish an individual.

The preventative role of criminal prosecution, among other things, lies in that within its scope, in connection with prosecuting specific criminal acts and the determination of criminal liability, the causes and conditions for the crime are disclosed. A problem that calls for further exploration is what the scope of such disclosure should be, what the causes and conditions for crime are in any given instance, and by which means and methods they can be uncovered. The tasks in criminal prosecution in socialism would be impeded both by a boundless expansion in the disclosure of causes or by a formal criminal prosecution that disregards the social conditions. Preventative activity by the criminal prosecution organs also means a discriminating use made of the means available to those organs so as to eliminate the causes and conditions. That includes court critiques, recommendations and suggestions, measures under the public state attorney's legality supervision, trials before an expanded public and analyses

of proceedings in the various forms. We mainly want to select such means and methods there that are most suitable for any given act of crime and most appropriate to contributing to the elimination of causes and conditions. Doing away with them permanently rates most highly. Right now, one does indeed often eliminate the causes ascertained in a given case, yet the basis for similar crimes continues to exist so that the justice and security organs have to keep dealing with similar crimes in certain areas committed for causes already understood but not yet eliminated.

Enhancing the preventative effect of criminal prosecution also entails exercising a better individual-educational influence on the offender mainly when there is danger of a repeated offense. For that we mainly need to develop a social care system for offenders with considerable discipline and integrative difficulties. Such people, having gone wrong, need intensive and extensive care which far transcends the possibilities of the penalty and of state measures on supervision and control.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. EINHEIT, 1980, p 1221.
2. Cf. E. Buchholz/U. Daehn/H. Weber, "Strafrechtliche Verantwortlichkeit und Strafe" [Criminal Liability and Punishment], Berlin, 1982, pp 117 ff and the bibliography there.
3. Cf. E. Buchholz, "On the Causes for Crime in the GDR," NEUE JUSTIZ, 1983, p 199.
4. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Berlin, 1976, p 43.
5. Cf. Y. V. Andropov, "The Doctrine of Karl Marx and Some Questions of Socialist Construction in the USSR," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 25 February 1983, pp 3 f; K. Chernenko, "Topical Questions in the Party's Ideological and Political Mass Activity," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 15 June 1983, p 5; "Dialektik des Sozialismus," Berlin, 1981; "Die entwickelte sozialistische Gesellschaft--Wesen und Kriterien, Kritik revisionistischer Konzeptionen" [The Developed Socialist Society--Essence and Criteria, Critique of Revisionist Conceptions], Berlin, 1960, p 76; C. J. Gleserman/W. I. Stoljarow, "The New Character of Social Contradictions--Ways and Forms of Resolving Them in Socialist Society," "Dialektik im Sozialismus," Berlin, 1976, pp 30 ff, especially 34 ff; A. B. Sakharov, "On the Causes of Crime in Socialist Society," "Sowjetwissenschaft (GB)," 1977, pp 520 ff.
6. Cf. e.g., "Marxistisch-leninistische allgemeine Theorie des Staates und des Rechts" [Marxist-Leninist General Political and Legal Theory], Vol 4, Berlin, 1976, pp 188 ff; K. A. Mollnau, "Objektive Gesetze, Recht, Handeln" [Objective Laws, Right, Conduct], Berlin, 1979, pp 23 ff, especially 70 ff; "Zur Wirksamkeit rechtlicher Sanktionen bei der weiteren Gestaltung der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft" [On the Effectiveness of Legal Sanctions in the Further Shaping of the Developed Socialist Society], Berlin, 1978, pp 63 ff; "Effektivitaet der Rechtsnormen" [Effectiveness of Legal Norms], Berlin, 1982.

7. Cf. E. Buchholz/U. Daehn/H. Weber, op. cit.; U. Daehn/H. Weber, "Effectiveness of Punishment," NEUE JUSTIZ, 1981, p 399; E. Buchholz, "The Educational Role and Effectiveness of Punishment," NEUE JUSTIZ, 1982, p 263.
8. Cf. F. Dickel, "Order and Safety—An Element of Our Citizens' Security," EINHEIT, 1982, p 621.
9. Cf. H. Harrland, "Imperialismus als Quelle des Verbrechens" [Imperialism as a Crime Source], Berlin, 1972; J. Renneberg/L. Frenzel/R. Daehn, "The Historical Foundations for the West German Criminal Law Reform and the Function of Its Guilt and Liability Doctrine in Integrating Criminal Law with Internal State Reform," AKTUELLE BEITRAEGE DER STAATS- UND RECHTS-WISSENSCHAFT, No 54, Potsdam-Babelsberg, 1970; D. Seidel/G. Wiesel, "Krimineller Profit—profitable Kriminalitaet" [Criminal Profit—Profitable Criminality], Berlin, 1982; E. Buchholz, "Crimes of Imperialism," NEUE JUSTIZ, 1982, p 314.
10. Cf. e.g., R. Driebold, "Sozialtherapie im Strafvollzug" [Social Therapy in the Execution of Sentence], Weinheim/Basel, 1981, pp 29, 155, 159 ff.
11. Execution of Sentences Law of 16 March 1976 in the version of the 18 August 1976 law in BGBl, Part I, p 2181.
12. Cf. G. A. Aliyev, "Report on the USSR Draft Law on the Work Collectives and their Higher Role in the Management of Enterprises, Institutions, Organizations," PRAVDA, 18 June 1983, pp 2 f.

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MAGYAR HIRLAP SUPPLEMENT EXPLAINS GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE

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[Article by Dr Geza Kilenyi, edited by Dr Geza Nemeth: "The Hungarian State Organization"]

[Text] There are countries where immigrants applying for citizenship must first take a "citizenship test" and within this framework must tell how much they know about the state structure of the country accepting them, about the rights and obligations of citizens, which is really a fundamental condition for how they will fit into the society and be good citizens of the given state. It is worth thinking what would happen if we gave a similar test to the adult population of the country here, how many would have to take a "make up" exam because their information about our state organization was so faulty.

Convincing data from sociological surveys support the distressing fact that a significant part of the populace not only knows precious little about the functioning and tasks of central state organs but do not even know what the organs are in their place of residence, the ones in virtually daily contact with citizens, do not know how decisions, significant from the viewpoint of the life and development of the town or city, are made and do not know how they might participate in local public life.

We would hardly be wrong to regard the basic information pertaining to the state organization as an indispensable part of general culture. There is a need to acquire this information not only because it would then be easier for us to orient ourselves in official matters arising in everyday life. Much more it is because it is a key question for the further development of socialist democracy that citizens not be uninformed about where and how state decisions influencing their lives are made, and what those forums are in which voters can express an opinion in matters of local and national significance alike. It is the purpose of our supplement today to provide the information which is indispensable to those mentioned and to everyone.

The National Assembly

Legal Status and Sphere of Tasks

The National Assembly--like the parliament, sejm, Supreme Soviet or great peoples hural [national assembly of the Peoples Republic of Mongolia] in other



countries--is the supreme organ of state power and popular representation of our country, which is usually referred to as a legislative body. The latter designation refers to one of the important activities of the National Assembly, passing laws. Within the legislative sphere an outstanding place is occupied by the adopting and modifying of the basic law of our country, the Constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic, which is in the exclusive sphere of the National Assembly.

But it should be emphasized that legislation--however important--is only one element in the sphere of the National Assembly. This sphere includes such important personnel and organizational decisions as electing the Presidential Council of the People's Republic and the Council of Ministers, establishing ministries, and electing the president of the Supreme Court and the supreme attorney. Fundamentally the National Assembly sets the chief directions of government activity in that it debates and approves the program of the government and regularly requires reports concerning their activity from ministers and the state secretaries leading organs with national authority. In regard to economics it must be emphasized primarily that the National Assembly determines the medium-range national economic plan, establishes the state budget and approves the execution of it. From the viewpoint of the foreign contacts of the country the most important treaties are ratified by the National Assembly in the name of the Hungarian People's Republic.

#### Officials, Committees

A president, vice presidents and clerks are elected by the National Assembly from the ranks of its members; these are the officials of the National Assembly. The president sees to the compilation of the annual work program of the body, leads the meetings of the National Assembly and represents the National Assembly on official and ceremonious occasions. It is also his task to organize the international contacts of the National Assembly, to determine the organization of the office of the National Assembly and to guide the work of it. If the president is unable to do these things his place is taken by one of the vice presidents. The designation "clerks" is rooted in tradition, and is perhaps a little misleading as compared to current usage, for "clerking" is not at all characteristic of their work. The clerks exercise their functions according to a schedule established by the president of the National Assembly. At each session the clerks on duty continually help the president in leading the meetings; they read out the documents of the National Assembly, count the votes, and edit the comprehensive records of the National Assembly.

It may be true that the National Assembly exercises its authority in sessions, but it does not follow that work ceases in the period between sessions.

The National Assembly has ten permanent committees; these are organs of the National Assembly for giving opinions, making recommendations and exercising supervision, and they conduct their activities in definite special areas. (For example, there is an agricultural committee, an industrial committee and a cultural committee.) The 11-21 members of the permanent committees are elected by the National Assembly from among its own members, thus they

are made up of representatives. The committees are active in the period between sessions also; their role in giving opinions on draft laws and drafts of other high level regulations is especially important. The committees also have the right and obligation to prepare for the National Assembly debate of draft laws in their functional spheres; that is, even before the session they discuss these drafts and develop their opinions in connection with them. A number of observations and modifying initiatives in connection with the several draft laws are voiced at the meetings of the committees. In addition, the committees give opinions on drafts of law decrees submitted to them, although this is not obligatory in the case of law decrees. In addition the permanent committees can concern themselves with all those questions which they consider to be of fundamental significance in some area of state or social life.

In addition to the ten permanent committees one should mention the immunity and incompatibility committee which is also elected by the National Assembly for the extent of a given cycle--that is for 5 years--and which meets as needed, that is if it must prepare for a decision in an immunity or incompatibility case involving a National Assembly representative.

The committees cannot pass decisions binding on other state organs, but they can turn with their proposals directly to the National Assembly, the Presidential Council, the Council of Ministers, the ministers and the leaders of organs with national authority.

While the permanent committees come into being by professional area the county representative groups are made up of representatives elected in the several counties or in the capital and their activity is to help the representatives get to know the situation of the given region, its unique problems, so that they can represent the regional interests properly in the body. The representative groups also hold meetings to prepare for the sessions and can put on the agenda a discussion of questions significant from the viewpoint of the given region.

#### Order of Work

National Assembly representatives are elected for a 5 year term by citizens with the right to vote. The electoral districts are formed so that there is one representative for about 30,000 inhabitants. At present the Hungarian National Assembly has 352 members. In the future--in the wake of a further development of the electoral system--the method of election will be changed in that while the system of individual electoral districts will be maintained the voters of the country will elect, in addition to representatives elected in electoral districts, about one-tenth of all representatives on a central list--outstanding personalities of political, social and scientific life.

The National Assembly is capable of making a decision if at least half of the representatives are present. The members of the Council of Ministers, the president of the Supreme Court and the supreme attorney can participate in sessions of the National Assembly with consultative rights even if they are not National Assembly representatives. According to the practice which

has developed the National Assembly can invite--again with consultative rights--to its sessions on a permanent basis the state secretaries leading organs with national authority.

The National Assembly establishes the agenda for a session of the National Assembly on the recommendation of the president. The Presidential Council of the People's Republic, the Council of Ministers, every National Assembly committee and any representative can submit proposals to the National Assembly.

Those responsible to and under an obligation to the National Assembly report to the National Assembly concerning their activities--the Presidential Council, the Council of Ministers, the members of the Council of Ministers, the state secretaries leading organs with national authority, the president of the Supreme Court and the supreme attorney. By virtue of this reporting right the National Assembly exercises supervision and guidance over the state organization as a whole. The reports not only make it possible for the National Assembly to weigh the reporting organ or person and the entire organization guided by it or him, or the activity of the system, but also to set the chief goals for future work.

The National Assembly decides in every question by open vote. Voting is by raising hands. The National Assembly makes its decisions by simple majority. Changing the Constitution is an exception; for this the vote of two-thirds of the National Assembly representatives is required. The president votes only in the case of a tie.

The meetings of the National Assembly are open. But due to the limited number of seats tickets are issued for the individual meetings. In extraordinary cases the National Assembly can decide to hold a closed meeting.

A law adopted by the National Assembly is signed by the president and secretary of the Presidential Council and is promulgated in the Hungarian Gazette (MAGYAR KOZLONY). The National Assembly can also order any decision to be published in the Hungarian Gazette. Such decisions are signed by the president of the National Assembly and the clerks on duty.

#### Interpellation

Every representative has the right to put questions to the Presidential Council, the Council of Ministers and any of its members, state secretaries, the president of the Supreme Court and the supreme attorney in any matter in their sphere of tasks at meetings of the National Assembly--thus, as it were, before the public of the country. In general the interpellations pertain to important questions of public interest and most of them urge the taking of some central action. In general an answer to an interpellation must be given at the same session. After the answer is given, the interpellating representative has the right to answer in return and following that the National Assembly decides by vote whether to take cognizance of the answer. In recent years it has happened several times that the National Assembly did not take cognizance of the answer, or that it was accepted only with a significant number of dissenting votes.



## The Presidential Council

### Members and Tasks

As can be seen even from the foregoing the National Assembly meets relatively rarely in our homeland. At the same time, the guidance of state life requires continual activity, because there are many matters the decision of which cannot be awaited for months--until the next session of the National Assembly. So an organizational form was needed to counterbalance the fact that a long time passes between sessions of the supreme popular representative body and the fact that the volume of matters which can be submitted to the body is limited in any case.

There are countries--including socialist countries--where the carrying out of the above task falls on the head of state, generally on the president of the republic. In our homeland, in the years following the liberation--until 1949--there was a republic presidential function. Since then the tasks of head of state have been carried out by a corporate organ, the Presidential Council of the People's Republic, the president, two vice presidents, secretary and 17 members of which are elected by the National Assembly from among the representatives. The premier and deputy premiers of the Council of Ministers and the state secretaries cannot be elected to the Presidential Council.

The sphere of authority of the Presidential Council is very broad; among other things it sets the National Assembly elections, convenes the National Assembly, makes and ratifies international treaties in the name of the country, appoints the state secretaries, assigns and receives ambassadors, and elects professional judges. Here again one must call attention to an imprecise usage of words; we frequently meet with the expression "government decoration" when what is involved is a decoration established and awarded by the Presidential Council. Hungarian decorations--such as the various degrees of the Labor Medal and the Medal for Socialist Hungary--are awarded to persons worthy of them by the Presidential Council and not by the Council of Ministers. (There are real government decorations also!) The Presidential Council appoints ambassadors extraordinary and plenipotentiary, extraordinary ambassadors and ministers plenipotentiary, generals of the armed forces, armed bodies and police organs, and the first deputy and deputies to the supreme attorney. The Presidential Council authorizes the conferring of honorary doctor titles.

It is also in the sphere of authority of the Presidential Council that it initiates laws with the National Assembly, orders referenda in questions of national significance, and exercises the right of clemency in connection with criminal law responsibility. The latter also includes the exercise of amnesty which extends to those committing acts of a certain character or to persons sentenced to terms shorter than a definite time (without personal selection), and individual clemency which--as the name implies--is based on an ad hoc judgment. In contrast to the general belief the individual clemency authority is not limited to judging appeals made by persons sentenced to death but includes the remission, moderation or change



to a milder form of punishment of any sentence, even relieving the person affected of being held responsible under criminal law. It is another question that in the interest of encouraging respect for the laws, preserving the respect for the courts and realizing the principle of equality before the law the Presidential Council makes use of its right of individual clemency in a relatively narrow sphere.

The Presidential Council carries out important tasks in the area of ensuring the constitutional order of the country. It watches over the implementation of the Constitution; in this authority it nullifies or changes any regulation, state administrative resolution or measure which conflicts with the Constitution; it sees to a defense of the rights of the councils; it disbands any council the functioning of which conflicts with the Constitution or seriously endangers the interests of the people.

### The Right of Proxy

If the National Assembly is not in session its rights are exercised by the Presidential Council. This is a broad mandate virtually unique in the socialist countries, which has only one limit according to the Constitution--the Presidential Council is not authorized to change the Constitution. It counts merely as a constitutional interpretation that we do not consider the Presidential Council authorized to change its own composition. But except for this the right of proxy of the Presidential Council is virtually unlimited. For example, it is authorized to regulate in a law decree any matter referred to the sphere of regulation at the level of a law by the Constitution; it can modify or invalidate laws passed by the National Assembly; it can change the personal make up of the Council of Ministers; it can create or abolish ministries; etc.

Such a broad right of proxy for the Presidential Council--giving the body what amounts to extraordinary power--is not justified amidst consolidated conditions. For this reason political practice is developing unambiguously in the direction of strengthening the actual role of the National Assembly and limiting the right of proxy of the Presidential Council within realistic frameworks. This developmental tendency is indicated by the intention of having a law and not a law decree offer primary regulation in matters of fundamental significance; broader, more significant modification of laws should be done by the National Assembly and not by the Presidential Council; or the National Assembly committees should receive a role in preparing certain law decrees.

The regulations of the Presidential Council are law decrees, which must be submitted at the next session of the National Assembly. (But they are not dependent on ratification or approval by the National Assembly). Law decrees are signed by the president and secretary of the Presidential Council and are promulgated in the Hungarian Gazette.

## The President of the Presidential Council

As we have said, in our homeland the authority of head of state is exercised by a corporate body, the Presidential Council. In accordance with this the president of the Presidential Council cannot be regarded as head of state, since he does not have the personal authorizations appropriate to a head of state. He is not authorized to make a decision in the sphere of authority of the body between sessions of the Presidential Council, he is not empowered to create laws, he cannot convene the National Assembly, he has no right to initiate a law by virtue of his position as president, he cannot direct the armed forces, etc.

His authority extends in part to organizing the activity of the body (preparing for sessions, presiding over the sessions, signing the decisions passed together with the secretary) and in part of representing the Presidential Council. The latter includes domestic representation and representation in international contacts. In diplomatic contacts it is as if the president "embodied" the head of state; ministers and ambassadors accredited in our homeland submit their credentials to him; he invites foreign heads of state to visit Hungary; and he satisfies foreign invitations of a similar character. It is also the task of the president to see to the promulgation of laws passed by the National Assembly.

## The Council of Ministers

### Appointment and Legal Status

We often hear the Council of Ministers referred to as the government and the premier of the Council of Ministers referred to as the head of government. This usage cannot at all be regarded as erroneous or imprecise. For a long time the official name of the Council of Ministers was the Hungarian Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government. Although the present text of our Constitution uses in general the designation Council of Ministers, putting the word "government" in parentheses, there are provisions of the Constitution which contain both expressions without parentheses as of equal rank.

Sometimes the Council of Ministers is referred to as the supreme organ of state administration. There is no doubt that the Council of Ministers stands at the top of the hierarchy of state administrative organs; it directs the work of every state administrative organ directly or indirectly. So to this extent the Council of Ministers really is the supreme organ of state administration or, to put it differently, it is the guide of the executive power of the state. But its role is not limited exclusively to this because--together with the National Assembly and the Presidential Council--it is one of three government bodies which not only executes the decisions of the other two organs mentioned but also, on the one hand, makes decisions itself of outstanding significance from the viewpoint of state life and, on the other hand, cooperates actively in preparing the decisions of the National Assembly and Presidential Council.

## Composition of the Council of Ministers

The members of the Council of Ministers are elected and relieved by the National Assembly at the recommendation of the Presidential Council--each for an expressly designated position. (As we said, between sessions the Presidential Council is authorized to make these decisions, too.) The Council of Ministers consists of the premier of the government, the deputy premiers, the state ministers and the ministers leading ministries. In connection with these functions it is worth noting that in a number of socialist countries there is a first deputy premier or first deputy premiers of the council of ministers. Such a rank existed here earlier too, but it does so no longer. Our Constitution makes possible the election of a state minister or state ministers also, but at present this office is unfilled.

The ministries are leading state administrative organs the ministerial legal status of which is usually expressed by their designation. The one exception is the National Plan Office, which is an organ with ministerial legal status despite the designation "office." In accordance with this the chairman of the National Plan Office comes under the same judgment as ministers leading ministries. There is no obstacle to the premier or a deputy premier of the Council of Ministers also leading some ministry at the same time.

Since the Constitution does not fix the number of deputy premiers, state ministers and ministries and since it is possible to omit filling an office or to combine offices the personnel of the Council of Ministers is not fixed, but adjusts flexibly to the needs of state leadership. (At the moment there are 18, consisting of the premier, four deputy premiers and 14 ministers leading ministries, since one of the deputy premiers is at the same time chairman of the National Plan Office.)

## Tasks of the Council of Ministers

The Council of Ministers--in accordance with its name--is a corporate organ which exercises its authority as a body. In general it meets every two weeks, and the media regularly provide information about its meetings. The premier of the Council of Ministers leads the meetings but--because of the principle of collective leadership--he does not have personal power authorizations on the scale of the heads of government in some capitalist countries.

The Council of Ministers guides the work of the ministries and other organs directly subordinate to the Council of Ministers and coordinates their activities. In the legislative sphere it has the right to initiate laws and can initiate the issuing of a law decree also, it guides the development of draft regulations and it sees to the execution of regulations adopted by high level bodies. It guides the councils and provides legality supervision of their activities. It also has important economic tasks; among other things it sees to the preparation of national economic plans and their realization, it determines the direction of scientific and cultural

development and the system of social and health services, and it takes care of the necessary personnel conditions and material cover. In addition to all of this the government signs or approves international treaties also. It issues decrees and passes resolutions in the interest of an effective execution of its tasks. Some members of the Council of Ministers are responsible to the Council of Ministers [as published] and to the National Assembly, and are obliged to report to these organs concerning their activities. The Council of Ministers itself, as a body, is responsible to the National Assembly and thus has a regular reporting obligation.

In the course of carrying out its tasks the Council of Ministers issues decrees and passes resolutions which are signed by the premier of the Council of Ministers. The decrees and resolutions of the Council of Ministers cannot be contrary to laws or law decrees.

The government has broad authority in the area of reviewing the decisions of organs under its guidance or supervision. It is authorized to annul any regulation, resolution or measure passed by subordinate organs which violates a law or harms the public interest. It also has the right to annul decrees and resolutions of councils which harm the interests of society.

In the course of its activity the Council of Ministers cooperates with the interested social organizations. On occasion, for example, the Council of Ministers holds a joint session with the presidium of the National Council of Trade Unions and discusses questions which both bodies may consider of interest. It also happens that the Council of Ministers will issue a joint resolution with the leading body of some social organization. The social organizations can initiate appropriate measures with the government and participate in the preparation of government decisions; their leaders are present--with consultative rights--at meetings of the Council of Ministers to discuss agenda points affecting the organization. The Council of Ministers often asks the appropriate social organizations to help carry out important state tasks with their unique assets.

The Council of Ministers can take action in any matter in the sphere of state administration, either directly or through some member. In our state administrative system the Council of Ministers is the only organ to which the ban on deprivation of authority does not apply; it can take any state administrative matter into its own sphere of authority. (It is another question that in practice the Council of Ministers does not function as a forum for legal redress.) The government is also authorized to take any branch of state administration under its direct supervision and to create special organs for this purpose.

#### Ministries, Organs with National Authority

The Council of Ministers is a state administrative organ with general authority, the guidance activity of which extends to all branches of state administration. At the same time there are central state administrative organs with special authority and the profile of their activity is not



so broad. The ministries and organs with national authority provide central guidance for individual economic branches or administrative branches. There are those among them the activity of which does not go beyond the frameworks of the given branch. Such, for example, are the Ministry of Domestic Trade, the Ministry of Industry, or the National Water Affairs Office. But the activity sphere of some organs is much broader and extends, from some definite viewpoint, to virtually every branch. Typically the central organs for planning, collection of statistical data and manpower management--the so-called functional organs--carry out such tasks; these are the National Plan Office, the Central Statistics Office and the State Wage and Labor Affairs Office. The ministries are headed by some member of the Council of Ministers; he has the right to make decrees and his decrees are binding on state organs, cooperatives and citizens alike.

At present the following ministries function in our homeland: Ministry of Domestic Trade, Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Construction and Urban Development, Ministry of Defense, Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Industry, Ministry of Transportation, Ministry of Foreign Trade, Ministry of Agriculture and Food, Ministry of Culture, the National Plan Office and the Ministry of Financial Affairs. [As published; the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is missing, probably because the typist skipped a line when typing Ministry of Foreign Trade.]

The organs with national authority are not listed in the law concerning the ministries of the Hungarian People's Republic; in general they function with the designation "office" and are under the direct supervision of the Council of Ministers or some member of it; some of them are under the leadership of a state secretary. The state secretaries are not members of the Council of Ministers, they have no right to pass decrees, but they can issue state secretary orders which are binding on state organs, enterprises, cooperatives and other management organs. The state secretaries are responsible to the Council of Ministers and to the National Assembly and must report to these organs about their activities.

## The Courts

### Their Sphere of Authority and Tasks

In our homeland the administration of justice is the task of the courts. In accordance with this the courts decide in criminal matters, in civil law cases, in family law and labor affairs disputes and in disputes connected with cooperative membership legal matters. But the authority of the courts in the matters listed is not exclusive. In the interest of having legal disputes decided as quickly as possible and within the framework of a procedure as simple as possible, a law, law decree or Council of Ministers decree can authorize other organs, outside the courts, to make a decision in the matters cited. Thus, for example, state administrative organs decide in some civil law matters and labor affairs arbitration committees decide in some labor affairs disputes. If, however, some other organ, and not a court, decides in a matter falling in the

sphere of the administration of justice, doing so on the basis of some special legal authorization, and the decision of this organ affects fundamental rights and obligations of citizens, then the parties can turn to the court--in some cases defined by the regulations--against the decision made.

It is also possible that a regulation can give authority to the courts in matters falling outside the sphere of the administration of justice. Accordingly, in a number of state administrative matters--as defined in the regulations--the court will review the legality of the valid state administrative decision, on the basis of an initiative by the parties.

### Basic Principles

The laws and other regulations are also binding on any court. The courts act in the cases of all citizens, without regard to social status or nationality. The language of the court proceedings is Hungarian; but no one can suffer disadvantage for not knowing it. For this reason everyone can use his mother tongue in a court proceeding. The deliberation of the court is public--if the law does not make an exception.

In criminal cases the accused has a right to defense and to selection of his defender. In cases defined by law the participation of a defender in the proceedings is obligatory; thus, if the accused does not make use of his right to select a defender the court will provide a defender for him. In the course of a court proceeding the party or an interested person (for example, one who, within the framework of a criminal proceeding, submits some material demand--as the damaged party) can appoint a representative in the interest of realizing his rights. (The representative can be, for example, an attorney, a relative of the party or, in some trials, the enterprise legal counsel.)

The right to legal redress is a basic principle of preeminent importance. This is shown by the fact that--insofar as the law does not make an exception--a party, one interested or the state's attorney can appeal the decision of any court of first instance. There is no further appeal against a second instance judgment. But the law authorizes the supreme attorney and the president of the Supreme Court to lodge with the Supreme Court a legality protest against the valid decision of a court.

The principle of collective judgment is also realized as a basic principle. The essence of this is that in general the court proceeds and judges in a council of several members. Definite cases in procedural law--most of them of minor significance--represent an exception; in these a single judge can act also. Only a professional judge can act as single judge. The court council of first instance usually consists of a professional judge and two lay assessors. The professional judge is the president of the council, but in passing judgment the lay assessors have the same rights and obligations as the professional judges. The court council of second instance consists of three professional judges.

The office of judge is filled by election and judges can be recalled. This is the guiding rule for both professional judges and lay assessors. The Presidential Council of the People's Republic elects the professional judges for an unlimited time. The judges are independent and are subordinate only to the laws and other regulations. In practice this means that no one can give directions to a judge in regard to the content of the judgment to be passed, not even the official superior of the court. The judge is not bound by the decisions of various state administrative organs which do not qualify as regulations; for example, ministerial positions in principle are not binding on a judge.

#### Court Organization

Administration of justice tasks are carried out by the Supreme Court, county courts, local courts, labor affairs courts and military courts. In Budapest the Capital Court acts as the county court and the city district courts act as the local courts. From the viewpoint of court organization the five cities with county rank do not occupy a distinctive position. The Presidential Council of the People's Republic establishes the area of jurisdiction of the several courts. The area of jurisdiction is adjusted to the regional divisions of the state, thus the boundaries of the areas of jurisdiction of civilian courts cannot cut across administrative boundaries. But it is not necessary for a separate court to function in every city.

The president of the court--as leader of the organizational unit--stands at the head of every court listed; he should not be confused with the president of the court council acting in individual concrete cases. (It is another question whether the president of the court himself also carries out administration of justice tasks; at such a time he could act as president of a court council also.)

The local court acts in first instance in criminal, civil law and family law cases in the authority of the courts--if a regulation does not provide otherwise.

A labor affairs court functions in the capital and in the counties, with jurisdiction over the entire area of the capital or county. The labor affairs court decides in disputes connected with legal relationships involving labor affairs or cooperative membership. Some of these can be submitted to the court directly, but in the majority of cases place of work forums act first and the court--on the basis of an initiative by the interested parties--reviews the decision of the labor affairs arbitration committee, the service superior, the cooperative arbitration committee or the cooperative general meeting. Since in this way the labor affairs court usually plays the role of forum for legal redress, an appeal against its substantive decision can be made only in cases defined in procedural law. In such cases the county court decides in the matter of the appeal.

A military court functions in some larger garrisons and with higher military units and functions exclusively as a criminal court. It has in its authority the judgment of crimes committed by members of the armed forces or by members

of armed bodies and police organs defined in a special regulation. A military court can also proceed in the case of crimes committed by civilians--for example directly harming or endangering the interest of national defense--when the judgment of them is expressly referred to the authority of a military court. The Supreme Court judges appeals directed against decisions of a military court.

The county court (in Budapest, the Capital Court) fundamentally plays the role of forum for legal redress; it judges appeals directed against decisions of the local courts or of the labor affairs court operating in its area of jurisdiction. In addition, however, the county court proceeds in first instance in certain matters--as defined in the procedural law. The Supreme Court decides in the matter of appeals directed against the first instance decisions of the county court. In addition to passing judgment in individual cases the county court has an important role in ensuring the uniformity of court practice. The collegia of the county court analyse the practice of the courts, issue opinions in disputed questions of interpretation of the regulations and in case of need initiate guidance in principle at the Supreme Court. The president of the county court exercises supervision over the general functioning of the local courts operating in the area of the county.

The supreme court organ of our homeland is the Supreme Court which--in addition to passing judgment in concrete cases--has an especially preeminent role in that it exercises guidance in principle of the judicature of the courts. The highest body for guidance in principle by the Supreme Court is the plenary session, the members of which are all the professional judges of the Supreme Court. The plenary session can issue guiding principles or a decision in principle in the interest of ensuring the uniformity of the practice of passing judgment; these have a binding force in regard to the courts. In questions of principle not requiring the issuing of a guiding principle or a decision in principle the appropriate collegium of the Supreme Court aids the uniformity of the practice of passing judgment with collegium positions.

The Supreme Court relatively rarely acts in first instance in individual cases. This can happen if: the judgment of some category of case is expressly referred to the authority of the Supreme Court by procedural law; the supreme attorney submits the charges to the Supreme Court; or the president of the Supreme Court refers to the Supreme Court first instance judgment of a case which otherwise would belong to the authority of another court. The second instance function of the Supreme Court is broader; it judges appeals against first instance judgments of county courts and military courts and those appeals the judgment of which is referred to the Supreme Court by the president of the Supreme Court. Similarly, the Supreme Court decides in the matter of legality protests lodged against the judgments of the courts by the supreme attorney or the president of the Supreme Court.

#### Notaries Public

The notaries public operate at the local courts. Among other things they have the task of executing wills, handing over the legacy to the testamentary or legal heirs. In addition, they take care of other non-trial proceedings



referred to their sphere of authority. For example, they provide certain documents with executing clauses so that certain claims can be recovered within the framework of a court executed proceeding. The decision of a notary public has the same force as a court decision.

The notaries public are involved not only in official proceedings but also provide what might be called "authoritative services" for the populace. They prepare public documents (for example, formulate a person's will into a public document), endorse signatures (for example, when a person's statement will be used abroad for an official purpose), certify copies and retain documents and objects of value.

#### The Court Executor

An indemnifying decision brought in a civil case or labor affairs dispute or a decision establishing a material responsibility brought as the result of a compromise before the court or in a criminal case is executed by the court executor--if the regulations do not make an exception. In certain cases the court executor enforces the decisions of state administrative organs which establish certain material responsibility.

Court executors work at local courts and county courts. An action of a court executor (for example, attaching certain property or stopping a defined part of some payment) is binding on state, economic and social organizations and on citizens.

Death sentences and loss of freedom sentences are executed in penal institutions under the supervision of the Minister of Justice.

#### The Attorney's Office

##### Tasks of the Attorney's Office

Largely under the influence of Western films the attorney lives in a significant part of public opinion as the representative of the charge. But in socialist countries--thus in our homeland also--the attorney's office conducts many-sided and many-branching activity in the interest of seeing legality realized, and representing the charge is only one way in which this is manifested.

In the sphere of supervision over the legality of investigation the attorney is obliged on the one hand to ensure the consistent prosecution of every crime which comes to light and on the other hand to ensure that no one is made criminally responsible illegally, not be deprived of personal freedom or harassed illegally. In the interest of this the attorney can review, from the viewpoint of legality, the measures taken by the investigative organs in the substance of their reports and in the course of the investigation; he judges complaints submitted against decisions made in the course of the investigation or due to the neglect of necessary measures. The attorney can order an investigation or a supplementary investigation and can direct the investigative authorities to perform certain investigative

acts. He is also entitled to perform certain investigative acts himself or to take over the investigation of certain crimes entirely. The investigation of some crimes defined in the regulations is in the exclusive sphere of the attorney's office. The investigative organs can order a provisional arrest only with the approval of the attorney. The investigative organs are obliged to carry out orders given by the attorney in the course of the investigation.

Depending on the result of the investigation the attorney lodges a charge with the court. The participation of the attorney in the court proceedings is intended to aid in seeing that the decisions of the courts correspond to the laws and legal policy principles. In accordance with this his participation is not limited to criminal cases. The "classic task" of the attorney is to represent the charge before the court in criminal cases, to make a motion or seek legal redress. But few know that the attorney can seek legal redress not only to the burden of the accused but also to his benefit. Out of an important state or social interest or if the person entitled is incapable of defending his rights for any reason the attorney can initiate civil proceedings, with or without trial. Rights which can be realized exclusively by a definite person represent an exception to the latter rule. (For example, the attorney cannot initiate divorce proceedings, but he can file a motion to have a marriage annulled.) The attorney is entitled not only to initiate a trial but also to take action in the interest of legality in a trial initiated by others, and to aid the legality of the judgment with his motions. In such a case he must respect rights of disposal of the parties, presuming that the exercise of them does not harm the public interest or the legal interests of others.

The attorney can request and review the written proceedings of any criminal or civil case to see if the proceedings, the decision brought or the execution of it correspond to the laws. He is also entitled to make use of trial or legal redress as defined in law without regard to whether he participated in the given proceedings earlier.

Supervision of the legality of the execution of punishment is one of the important guarantees of the protection of personal freedom. The attorney is obliged to immediately free those who are held without a legal decision or beyond the time designated in the decision. At the same time this sphere of the attorney's activity is not limited exclusively to a review of detention—execution of provisional arrest or loss of freedom—but also includes in general supervision from the viewpoint of legality of the execution of punishment and measures employed in criminal cases.

In accordance with this the attorney's supervision extends to the execution of corrective-educational work, fines, supplementary punishment, forced treatment and forced detoxification and to the legality of conditional release, subsequent care and the keeping of criminal records. The attorney can hold an investigation in a penal institution at any time, can look at the detention documents, can study the circumstances of detention, can hear the condemned or the detained persons and can review complaints connected with the execution of decisions brought in criminal cases.

The attorney's general legality supervision affects citizens on the broadest scale. In the course of carrying out tasks in this direction the attorney's office checks the legality of the generally valid measures of ministries, organs with national authority, councils and their organs, and local and regional state administrative organs not within the council organization and of their ad hoc decisions in the sphere of applying the law. The general legality supervision also extends to the ad hoc decisions of organs outside the court system which are called on to settle legal disputes (for example, labor affairs arbitration committees and cooperative arbitration committees), to ad hoc decisions brought by economic and other organs in connection with a work relationship or cooperative membership relationship and to generally valid measures taken by them on the basis of authority given by the regulations (bye-laws, rules, etc.).

The attorney has effective and various rights in the sphere of general legality supervision. Among other things, he can hold an investigation at the organs affected or can request the organ endowed with supervisory authority to hold an investigation (this request has binding force); he can look at the ad hoc decisions and generally valid measures of the organs listed and can ask the leaders of these organs to make documents available and to provide clarification; he can take part, with consultative rights, in the meetings of councils, their executive committees and popular control committees; he judges legality appeals submitted to the attorney's office by citizens and by various organs and judges reports in the public interest and indications of a violation of the laws.

If a violation of the law is noted, the attorney can take a number of types of action depending on the character of the violation. He can submit to the organ affected or to its superior organ a protest against the ad hoc decision or generally valid measure which violates the law and in this he can move to have execution of it suspended. (We should note here that the attorney can make a protest only against decisions with force of law or which can be executed. Thus, in general, the parties can turn to the attorney with a legality appeal only if they have already exhausted the possibilities of legal redress available to them--for example, appeals or request for review.) The affected organ is obliged to study the protest within eight days and if it is found to be well founded, it is obliged to annul or change the decision attacked by the protest within the time limit mentioned. If the organ does not agree with the protest it is obliged to submit the protest together with the documents of the case to its superior organ within eight days from the investigation. The superior organ makes a decision in the matter of the protest within 30 days.

If the attorney learns of a practice which violates the law or of a violation manifested by neglect (for example, if an appeal is not judged within the time limit set in the regulations), he lodges an objection with the leader of the organ and in the event of the danger of a future violation of the law he submits a warning. The attorney has a special authority in judging violations which might be punished by imprisonment. In such cases the organs taking action are obliged to carry out the orders of the attorney pertaining to execution of imprisonment, detaining or releasing the perpetrators, or pertaining to the circumstances of detention.

## Organization of the Attorney's Office

The attorney's office is an organization independent of the local or regional organs and the central organs of state administration; it is an organization linked directly to the supreme organ of state power via the person of the supreme attorney. The attorneys work subordinate to the supreme attorney; only the supreme attorney or a superior attorney can give orders to them. The supreme attorney heads the organization of the attorney's office; he is elected to his office by the National Assembly and he is authorized to appoint other attorneys--with the exception of his deputies. The supreme attorney has very broad authority, attaching to his person. Among other things he is entitled to:

--participate, with consultative rights, in the meetings of the National Assembly, the Presidential Council, the Council of Ministers and the Central Popular Control Committee and in the plenary sessions of the Supreme Court;

--make prior observations from the viewpoint of legality on draft regulations higher than a ministerial decree;

--initiate the issuing, modification or nullification of regulations with the Council of Ministers, ministers and leaders of organs with national authority;

--initiate the issuing of guiding principles and decisions in principle with the Supreme Court and positions in principle with ministers and leaders of organs with national authority, in the interest of a uniform interpretation of the regulations.

If the supreme attorney judges that a valid court decision brought in some criminal or civil case violates the law or is unfounded he can submit a legality protest against it to the Supreme Court. He is further authorized to suspend execution of a decision attacked by a legality protest and in criminal cases to interrupt the execution of the decision or to order the necessary security measures.

The organization of the attorney's offices consists of the following organizational units: the Supreme Attorney's Office of the Hungarian People's Republic; the county chief attorney's offices or the capital attorney's office; the local attorney's offices; the military chief attorney's office; the regional military attorney's offices and the attorney's offices of certain higher military units.

The Supreme Attorney's Office is an organ under the direct leadership of the supreme attorney which aids the supreme attorney in the effective execution of the tasks attaching to his person, which carries out attorney's tasks connected with the activities of the Supreme Court, the ministries and organs with national authority and which guides and supervises the work of the attorney's organs. The activity sphere of the Supreme Attorney's Office, the county chief attorney's offices and the local attorney's offices extends to every area of attorney's work, cited earlier; the division of labor within



the organization is based on the level of the sphere of authority of the organs falling in the sphere of the attorney's activity. However, the ban on withdrawal of authority is not valid for the attorney's offices. The Presidential Council of the People's Republic appoints the deputies to the supreme attorney. The military chief attorney heads the military chief attorney's office; he is subordinate to the supreme attorney and his military deputy.

The county chief attorney guides the work of the county chief attorney's office and the leading attorney guides the activity of the local attorney's offices, the regional military attorney's offices and the attorney's offices of higher military units.

The county chief attorney's office carries out attorney's tasks connected with the activity of county level organs (for example, the county court, the county police headquarters and the county council) and of organs with a headquarters in the area of its jurisdiction or which have jurisdiction extending over several counties (for example, the water affairs directorate and the postal directorate). Local attorney's offices function in capital districts, and in the seats of urban or large town environs. To the sphere of authority of local attorney's offices belongs the carrying out of attorney's tasks affecting the activities of organs at the level of county rank cities, capital districts, large towns and towns and, in general, the activities of production units operating in their areas of jurisdiction.

Since a military court passes judgment only in criminal cases the military attorney's offices do not have civil law tasks. Except for this the military attorney's offices carry out all those attorney's tasks carried out by a civilian attorney's office--in regard to the organs referred to their sphere of authority.

#### The Council Organization

The central institutional system for local-regional public administration is the council organization. Since we will deal with the electoral system and with changes in middle level administration within the framework of special supplements in the first quarter of next year we will on this occasion touch only on those themes which are indispensable for a comprehensive understanding of the state organization as a whole.

#### The Development of the Regional Divisions

In accordance with the Constitution the area of the country was originally divided into a capital, counties, cities and towns, the counties were divided into districts [jaras] and the capital and larger cities were divided into city districts [kerulet]. The council organization came into being in our homeland in 1950 and for a long time the divisions mentioned set the frameworks for its operations; there was a council, executive committee and administrative apparatus in every regional unit named. But only the number of the 19 county and 22 capital district [kerulet] councils remained unchanged after 1950.

When the council system came into being 2,978 town councils were formed, of which 170 were joint town councils embracing several settlements. For a while the number of town councils even increased; for example, there were 3,024 in 1960. As of today, this number has decreased to 1,393, primarily as a result of the fact that the number of joint town councils has increased to 714 and the area of jurisdiction of these extends to a total of 2,319 associated communities. The number of town settlements per joint town council varies between 2 and 12. Today an independent town council, one embracing a single town, operates in only 679 towns. There are a total of 2,998 settlements with town legal status in the country.

In the meantime the number of cities increased significantly; in contrast to the 57 cities of 1950 we now have 97 cities, of which the capital and the five cities with county rank--Debrecen, Győr, Miskolc, Pécs and Szeged--have a special legal status. Council, executive committee and administrative apparatus function in all 22 districts [kerület] of the capital. For a long time the situation was similar in the four largest provincial cities of the country too. This situation changed in 1971 when the functioning of the regional organs--council and executive committee--ended in the districts [kerület] of the provincial cities and city district offices were created with single person leadership. In Győr--which achieved status as a city with county rank at that time--a single central city district [kerület] office was established in the beginning and the other four cities with county rank gradually took over this organizational form also; in them there is now two-level administration but only a single level organ for popular representation--one embracing the entire city. In the other 91 cities both the administrative and the popular representation organization are single stage.

In the beginning the town council organs were linked to county administration not directly but with the interposition of district [jaras] councils. The number of districts [jaras] has decreased since 1950 from 140 to 83 and since 1971 only offices have functioned in the districts, as in the city districts of cities with county rank. In the meantime--since 1969--there has been a gradual development of urban environs administration, the essence of which is that more and more towns are linked to the county council not through the district [jaras] offices but rather through the city council organs. At present larger or smaller city environs--sometimes the size of a district [jaras]--are linked to 61 of our cities, thus the city administrative organs are participating on an ever broader scale in aiding and supervising the work of the town councils.

Finally, this developmental process made it possible, and even necessary, to abolish the district [jaras] offices and the district [jaras] territorial division as of 1 January 1984. Beginning at the time mentioned the link between county and town council organs will strengthen; some of the large town councils will come under county guidance directly, in a manner similar to the cities, while certain county contacts of the other town and large town councils will be realized with the aid of the council organs of settlements designated for this--mostly settlements with city status but in smaller part settlements with large town status. The Presidential Council of the People's Republic has designated a total of 139 councils for cooperation in county guidance.

## The Council

The council is a popular representation, self-governing body made up of elected delegates--the council members--which decides in the most important matters of the area of its jurisdiction. In connection with its own organization and operation the council:

- judges the legality of the election of the council members, decides in incompatibility cases of council members and in other matters connected with their council membership;

- establishes the number of members of the executive committee and elects from among the council members the council chairman, deputy council chairman (or deputies) and other members of the executive committee;

- appoints a secretary of the executive committee and leaders of the administrative organs for an indefinite time;

- decides concerning the creation of council committees and elects their chairmen and members;

- determines the administrative organization of the executive committee;

- guides the executive committee, the committees and the administrative apparatus.

The council manages independently with its material assets. Within the framework of this it defines its developmental program, plans, medium-range financial plan and budget, directs the implementation of these and decides concerning acceptance of reports on implementation. The rights of the council include establishing the magnitude of taxes and obligations of a tax character referred to its sphere of authority and making decisions concerning the assumption of credits.

The town and large town councils are obliged to provide nursery, general school, cultural, regional medical, dental, day care and other social services affecting the populace of the town, management and maintenance of real estate, management of parks, maintenance of roads and bridges, public lighting, public sanitation services, maintenance of cemeteries and the satisfaction of other communal needs referred to its sphere of authority by regulations. It can create enterprises and institutions for this purpose. In addition to what has been listed the city council can maintain gymnasias, housing for gymnasium students, institutions providing out-patient and in-patient care and other institutions providing social services. The county council establishes those enterprises and institutions which satisfy the needs of the county as a whole or of several cities and towns.

The local council adopts a general arrangement plan for the settlement and sees to its implementation.

The council exercises the authority appropriate to it at its sessions. The executive committee is obliged to convene a council session as needed, but at least four times per year. The council chairman leads the session of the council. The secretary of the executive committee and the leaders of the administrative organs are obliged to participate in the council sessions and provide information on questions affecting their spheres. The council can pass decrees for execution of council regulations and for regulation of social relationships requiring legal regulation; a council decree is binding on everyone in the operational area of the council.

For the purpose of informing the populace and learning the opinion of the populace the town council can submit to a village meeting questions of fundamental significance from the viewpoint of the life of the town. If possible a village meeting must be held each year in towns with a joint council--separately for the several towns.

#### The Executive Committee

The council meets relatively rarely, so in the interest of ensuring the continuity of guidance, a more restricted body must be formed--largely from its own members. This is the executive committee. The tasks of the executive committee include preparation of the sessions of the council, organizing implementation of council decisions, direct guidance of the administrative organs, supervision of council enterprises and guidance of council institutions.

The executive committee operates in a dual subordination; on the one hand it is subordinate to the council electing it and on the other hand it is subordinate to the superior executive committee (the capital and county council executive committees are subordinate to the Council of Ministers).

The members of the executive committee are: the council chairman, the deputy council chairman (or deputies), the members of the executive committee elected from among the council members by the council and the secretary of the executive committee. The latter is a member of the executive committee by virtue of his position--ex officio--regardless of whether or not he is a council member.

The executive committee coordinates and supervises the activities of the administrative apparatus, is responsible for the legality and effectiveness of this activity and sees to the professional and swift conduct of business. The executive committee of the city council appoints the leaders of council enterprises and institutions and those workers of them in leading positions.

The executive committees of the capital or county councils exercise legality supervision over the activity of the local councils. In this authority they can suspend for at most 60 days the execution of the decree or resolution of the local council which violates the law and can call upon the affected council to put an end to the violation.

The executive committee meets as needed, but at least once a month.



## The Committees

At its constituent session the council elects a procedural committee from among the elected council members to study the mandates of the council members and incompatibility matters concerning them. The auditing committee also consists exclusively of council members; it has the task of auditing the annual report concerning management by the council. The council decides how many other committees to elect beyond the two committees mentioned--which must be established--and how to determine the activity sphere of them. The chairman and the majority of the members of a committee can only be council members. At the same time, the council has the authority to elect as committee members with full rights persons nominated by organs working in the area and other experts who are not council members.

The committee is an organ for making recommendations, giving opinions, preparing, supervising and coordinating. The most important tasks are: to give opinions on the more important proposals submitted to the council and executive committee; to supervise the activities of administrative organs and council enterprises and institutions; and to coordinate the carrying out of branch tasks and tasks affecting several branches in the operational area of the council. Council and non-council organs are obliged to aid the activities of the committees, study their proposals and inform the committees about the fate of the proposals.

## The Apparatus

The administrative organs constitute the official organizations of the executive committee. Their tasks are: to prepare corporate decisions and organize their implementation, to carry out enterprise supervision and institution guidance tasks referred to their spheres of authority and to exercise authoritative rights. This includes judging appeals and applications for legal redress by the parties to a matter, holding official inspections and taking the necessary measures in the wake of them, initiating official proceedings ex officio and employing official obligations or sanctions as needed.

In general the populace has a client relationship with the administrative organs. Only one administrative organ functions with the town and large town councils and this takes care of all administrative tasks. In the other councils the administrative apparatus is divided into departments--in the Capital Council it is divided into main departments or main directorates. Every administrative organ has independent guidance, supervisory and authoritative rights.

Decisions of the administrative organs considered to be injurious can be attacked by appeal in the first instance while a decision in the second instance can be attacked by an appeal for review. The superior organ passes judgment on these appeals for legal redress. After 1 January 1984, if an administrative organ of the executive committee of a town council decides in the first instance then the appropriate administrative organ of the city council or the council of the large town with city rights operating in the

zone seat passes judgment on the appeal while an appeal for review is judged by the appropriate department of the county council. An appeal against decisions of city administrative organs must be submitted to the appropriate administrative organ of the county council, while the secretary of the executive committee of the county council decides in the matter of an appeal for review.

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NEED, AIMS TO TIGHTEN MEDIA CONTROL

Budapest JELKEP in Hungarian No 3, 1983 pp 2 - 12

[Interview with Dr Erno Lakatos, head of the Agitation and Propaganda Department of the HSWP CCC by Istvan Wisinger: "About Our Common Concerns," date and place not given]

[Text] Erno Lakatos graduated from the Academy for Journalists in 1950. As early as at the age of 25 he worked as editor at one of our dailies. After 1956 he was in charge of the editorial office for home affairs of the Hungarian Radio. In 1962 he became responsible editor of Magyar Ifjusag. Seven years later he was appointed vice-president of the information office, in 1977 he became chief editor of MTI, later director general, and since 1 July 1982 he has held the post of head of the agitation and propaganda department of the Central Committee.

Wisinger: May I ask you to help us to subject in the columns of our paper now from closer quarters from among wide-spread and manifold tasks of the agitation and propaganda department of the Central Committee those that are connected with the press and our information policy. From this the party guidance of the press seems to assume first place. How does the department promote its assertion?

Lakatos: I hope you do not want me to become entangled in lengthy, theoretical analyses--in answering your question. This I cannot do alone for the reason that in this respect we have rather practical tasks. Party guidance is asserted by political means on the basis of corporative decisions and resolutions. To this we contribute by planning and organizational work, and work offering concrete help. The system of this is already very well developed and has been operating appropriately for a long time. Just think here of our usual conferences of chief editors. At these conferences the heads of TV, the radio, the daily, weekly and county papers are given all the information they need to do their work independently and with responsibility. We consider the system of the conferences of chief editors, information offering sound knowledge, and joint exchanges of opinions the most important method and means of guidance. Ever more frequent become talks and exchanges of views with the leading journalists of various fields. Naturally, to enable us to give at these conferences not only information but to offer also adequate valuation we, too--apart from attending to many other tasks--have to keep an eye on the publications of the radio and the TV, and on the most important organs of the printed press. My

colleagues working at the information sub-department devote plenty of time and energy to the working up and evaluation of experiences, but I may say that also I myself read a great deal, listen to and watch the programmes of the radio and the TV. I regard this also my duty which, slightly exceeding my sphere of work, follows from my profession.

Wisinger: You mentioned in the foregoing that the system of the party guidance of the press is well-developed and functions appropriately. Is there nevertheless anything that could be improved?

Lakatos: The press, the radio and the TV are unparalleled means of information and, I may safely say, of educating and influencing the population. In the possession of this there fights the responsible power investigating society, the party, for winning again and again the awareness and the hearts of the people. When our work was put on the agenda and resolutions were adopted last year in December by the political committee of the HSWP on the further development of the guidance of the press, the radio, and the TV, the aim of this was to disclose inefficiencies, and to point out where our work was to be improved. In its resolution the political committee strongly criticized the fact that the shaping of uniform political approach had not been asserted properly and in all fields, nor was it right that very many publications (of which there are more than 1700 in the country) had remained outside the system of central information. Very injurious consequences had also resulted from the fact that at the central institutions of mass information--mainly at the radio and the TV--the mechanism of internal direction and control had not functioned properly, nor the internal work done with the inclusion of the competent leaders. The necessary information had not always reached those who had to work with it, nor had the utilization of information been checked adequately. As a result of this they found their way into transmissions ideologically cloudy, politically injurious, or inadequately proportioned programmes. The political committee, therefore, particularly confirmed from among the tasks needed for improving directing work the requirement that the agitation and propaganda department of the Central Committee is primarily responsible for the organizational, co-ordinating, and orientating work promoting the assertion of party guidance. This makes it necessary for us to modernize and to develop further the system of informing the leaders of the press--not only that for chief editors, editors, but also for the publicists and specialists moulding public opinion--and the methods of the analyzation of press work. In the regular orientation of the papers which have so far remained outside central information but exert considerable influence on certain strata, the National Federation of Hungarian Journalists, as the social organization of the workers of the press, and the information office of the council of ministers will undertake a much more important role than so far. Taking into consideration the difficulties and deficiencies enumerated in the foregoing, of very great importance will be the duty of the central daily and weekly papers to review in the course of the year with sound self-control their own activities, and to take measures for the improvement of their internal order of information and responsibility.

Wisinger: How do the tasks resulting from the resolution referred to contribute to the development of information? Because, I believe, this is the aim of the development of guidance.



Lakatos: Let us start from the fact that the information policy of the HSWP and its principles have proved correct--already for a longer period. In our country information is a public matter, both the population and the leadership regard it as such. The basic principle of the information and also by journalists. Janos Kadar has often said--recently, after the meeting of the Central Committee, on the TV screen--that "we are as many as we are able to win over." We, therefore, strive for reliable, quick, open and sincere information. Primarily for making the spreading of information also promote the attainment of social objectives. For making people understand what is happening around them, and that this information should induce them to engage in active deeds.

Wisinger: Which are, in your opinion, the most timely problems to which in the present practice of our information policy the greatest attention ought to be devoted?

Lakatos: In my reply I should like to start from the recent so-called half-time resolution of the Central Committee of the party. The meeting of the Central Committee presented an accurate, many-sided and profound analysis of our present situation. It is commonly known that the population of the country--despite our economic difficulties--lives among well-balanced conditions. On this consolidated situation we may rely also in information, just as well as in any other mass-political work. Under such conditions persuasion and the winning over of people is perhaps partly easier and partly precisely more difficult. The report submitted at the meeting of the Central Committee indicated that there amply exist also problems which those working in information have to face. The sudden standstill of detante and growing economic difficulties greatly influence the entire work of information, because also under these circumstances we have to make the population realize the values of our achievements, which it is worth while protecting. This is not so easy, we also have to take into account the psychic fact that under the influence of some forced and unexpected economic measures that we help protect our fundamental achievements--the security of the people's power, the public ownership of the means of production, our socialist conditions of production, the well-balanced, good atmosphere, and our democratic institutions. Another similar task is the convincing promotion of our standard of life policy, and to prove that we have things to protect. The so-called price-centric view ought to be liquidated. Namely that the people judge the development of their standard of life mainly on the basis of price changes. Yet the standard of life depends fundamentally on performance. It is the task of the press to make people see and accept this connection.

Now that I have mentioned our principal tasks I want to refer to yet another think on which it is worth while concentrating very profoundly. As a result of the well-known economic reasons, and the protracted crisis of the capitalist world economy, practically every country of the globe has got into an unexpected situation. Consequently, we must sincerely bring to the knowledge of the people that the effect of unexpected facts and the incalculableness of the economic sphere often takes also the leadership by surprise. Yet, he who pursues a deliberate and systematic policy must prepare himself also for the tackling of unexpected situations. In this respect, I believe, the task of

the press is to make the internal rules of processes--here for instance the manifestation of constantly appearing and observable unexpected elements--better understood and accepted.

Wisinger: One of the central thoughts of the national ideological conference last January was the following: "Among the tightening conditions democracy must not be narrowed down but extended." This was put into words even more markedly in the resolution adopted at the last meeting of the Central Committee. What does this mean in press work?

Lakatos: As far as the extension of socialist democracy is concerned in general: a fight on two fronts was proclaimed by the HSWP after the counter-revolution, and fortunately to all of us this two-way sensibility has been characteristic of its policy ever since. Naturally, in more difficult times, there appear immediately also voices demanding: "we must draw the reins..." there is or there will be need for a strong hand...." "Let us strike a blow, comrades" ... etc. This is why at the meeting of activists last January and at the meeting of the Central Committee on 12 and 13 April 1983, particular emphasis was given to the requirement that in more difficult times it is exactly on the contrary, that is by extending democracy and by the entire freeing of the creative spirit and thinking that it will become possible to get ahead. This is important also because our experiences show--let us think here for instance of the successes of agriculture--that we never lose on democracy. The press must on the one hand represent and on the other hand promote the extension of democracy. If the people are not properly informed this will not be to the benefit of the development of democracy. Recently, for instance, we have been able to experience with satisfaction, and to put down as an essential element of development, that leaders working in the most diverse posts comply in ever wider circles with their duty to give information, and that they turn with open, sincere and convincing words to the population. Yet, in this field there is not everything in order.

This is indicated by the fact that when visiting editorial offices recently even several times the question was fired at me as to where and by whom prohibitory signs would be set up? Since I myself am the most resolute enemy of the so-called prohibitory signs, I was not idle and looked up--in documents, notes, and in my memory--when, by whom and what kind of prohibitions had been ordained... I found absolutely nothing. I, therefore, asked those I called upon next time to tell me concrete examples. This was their reply: "Why does the Hungarian press fail to write about sniffing, the dope consumption spreading among juveniles?" It did write about it! A number of papers and special publications did so, those that, dealing in general with the question of the safeguarding of public health, elaborated this subject. Yet experts and doctors held the opinion that they were unable to fight it if the fora of mass information published in large numbers of copies contributed by their reports to the spreading of the methods of dope consumption. They may, therefore, cause more damage than they bring profit. Here the practice of information simply subordinated itself to the view of this specialized branch of science, and when there arrived from it the warning that the several deaths mean a turning point and are very nearly alarming, it was the joint decision of medical science and the guidance of the press that public interests now demanded that

one of the programmes watched by most people, the TV programme named News Background (Hirhatter), should deal with this subject. The differentiated treatment of this delicate question does not at all contradict our continuing open and sincere information, and that also by improving information we wish to contribute to the extension of socialist democracy.

I could speak here of the prohibition of subjects injuring foreign trade or other interests, but I do not place them in any form into the range of "prohibitory signs." My opinion is that in our society there cannot be "delicate" questions, rather bad answers. This causes the real difficulty.

Wisinger: At several ideological, agitation, and propaganda forums it was an interesting subject as to what we should do with the conflicting interests that can be experienced in our society. More precisely: to what extent should the mass communication workshops be open spheres of impact for these conflicting interests?

Lakatos: This is a very exciting question. It is the great merit of our political movement and the HSWP that it took the lead in the analysis of the relations of interests and in the utilization of experiences. We do not make a secret of the fact that there may exist and do in fact exist tensions between individual interests, the interests of smaller communities, and social interests. Their interpretation and portraying is also the task of the press, in the form that the aim should be the removal of these tensions. Publications, programmes which contribute to the preservation and, what is worse still, to the deepening of these conflicts must be avoided. For instance in connection with the analysis of world economic difficulties great care must be taken that we make it quite clear what it is that depends on us and what is caused by factors beyond our control. We must also take care lest the difficulties resulting from the critical situation of the world economy should cover our own weaknesses, and we must at least as much guard against shifting the difficulties assaulting us from outside on to the economic leaders who otherwise try to stand their ground with honesty and much laborious work.

Wisinger: In the course of our talk our economic difficulties have been referred to several times already. It is possible, in your opinion, to provide for better information and to make a press of higher standard with less money under more difficult conditions?

Lakatos: In this I am quite sure. The standard is never a question of money. I have already seen a very nicely got-up paper, and I have heard excellent radio and TV programmes prepared with very modest means. I do not maintain that financial conditions do not play an important role, particularly in the case of the modern electronic press requiring a technological basis of high value, that is in the case of news-agencies, the radio and the TV, but I am convinced that there is no direct connection between financial means, contents and standard. In more difficult times the narrower means available must be handled more sensibly and more economically also at the institutions of mass information.



Wisinger: In our days the TV has already taken the lead in the order of importance of the means of mass information, yet the elimination of its financial backwardness appears to be practically hopeless. What can we expect in this respect?

Lakatos: We have, indeed, got into a difficult situation, but I do not consider it hopeless. On the basis of the economic and technological development of our country it belongs to the medium-field of the countries of the world. This must not be disregarded because our financial resources are limited also in the absolute sense. At present there is nothing to which we could regroup financial means to alleviate the difficulties of TV. My opinion is that sacrifices must be made for the TV under all circumstances--as soon as the economic situation of the country becomes a little easier and also among the telecommunication bodies of similar importance and requiring high-quality technological equipment--the news agency, the radio--it must be put into first place. I emphasize when a sound opportunity offers itself for this. We can only hope we need not wait too long.

Wisinger: Shall a journalist represent the higher will and conception always, or perhaps also a view contrary to it?

Lakatos: Mass information is committed everywhere in the world. To the ruling class, to the ruling cause, to the people depending on the given situation. It is nowhere sufficient that someone has good faculties and is professionally trained, also a commitment is needed that reflects that the journalist concerned is not an outsider. This was, otherwise, never only a peculiarity of our system. A bourgeois journalist is also committed to the given policy. We still remember the dispute between the French Government and the TV years ago when--in the "hot summer" in Paris--journalists were dismissed from the French TV in large numbers. We can hardly mention a situation, however, when in connection with a question that is important and fundamental in their eyes they would not speak up in full harmony, as if a conductor would give a cue from West Berlin to Los Angeles. They know their job properly and well.

What does commitment mean in this country? Naturally voluntary commitment and political service. Still there can be found in our press publications and programmes whose authors, as it seems, forget in the service of what kind of interests they have been given confidence. They look around like outsiders, whereas they ought to use every effort for the realization of the policy operating in the political workshop and represented by this workshop. From this a whole series of problems may arise from time to time: prejudication, exaggeration of petty matters, playing down of important, big matters, the forced assertion of preconceptions, incorrect generalizations, distorted conclusions, unhistorical views and other things. It was owing to the conduct of some that at the bisecting meeting of the Central Committee it had to be mentioned that the TV, the radio, and the press were not the private property of some persons, but are in the service of society as a whole. Even if the examples mentioned are not too frequent, they cannot be left unmentioned. Finally I can reply to this question also in one sentence: the press shall represent at all times the interests of the Hungarian people building socialism and promote their efforts. Naturally well-prepared, with great professional knowledge, courageously, and where necessary critically and straightforward.



To this sentence I add that much and put it upside down that the means of mass information reflect in general conditions, and cannot take upon themselves the responsibility for problems which others have caused elsewhere.

Wisinger: Finally, what does the right of mistake mean in mass information? How is it possible for a journalist, by representing, let us say, his own opinion, to avoid losing sight of the interests of the official body on whose forum he gets the opportunity speak in the organ of the party or on TV?

Lakatos: This is a question of intelligence and preparedness. The two things cannot rigidly be divided in two, nor can they very much get into contradictions with each other. Under normal circumstances the interests of society and of the journalist in its service cannot be far removed from each other. Otherwise at the January meeting of ideological activists mentioned before it was pointed out resolutely and clearly by the secretary of the Central Committee what the right of mistake means. He declared that it was given to everyone, but great care must be taken because if someone does so on his own account this is one thing, but another thing if it is done at the expense of millions. How someone does so on his own account this is one thing, but another thing if it is done at the expense of millions. How someone discriminates is a question of political, professional and ideological power of discernment. After all this can be not only expected but under certain conditions also demanded from all good journalists.

Some people regard a journalist a necessary evil, mainly in the case of more delicate subjects. If, however, he is a little more pushing he may easily get it in the neck that he "behaved like an attorney or judge," or that "he does" his partner "in."

In connection with this phenomenon I hold quite a different opinion. Here a double-edged thing is concerned. The person with whom a report is made, particularly a leader, who can be "done in" by a reporter or whom the latter is able to "provoke," deserves his fate. I have my opinion of him but also of the journalist who did that. It always takes two to make a bargain! I am not able to support the conduct of an aggressive reporter. If a journalist has prepared himself thoroughly it will be easy for watchers, readers and listeners to decide who is right, and they, too, estimate in most cases a more modest conduct. After all it belongs also to professional preparedness that the journalist asserts what he believes to be true according to the rules and conventions corresponding to the given situation. The state leader or other leader concerned, again, must in possession of his preparedness and knowledge create and protect his prestige himself. He who is not capable of doing so in public is today probably also unable to represent his own professional objectives, since for similar reasons may also encounter the public opinion of the narrower public, the given department, enterprise, or institution. It is true, though, that a journalist is in no way subordinated to the persons he interviews, but this applies also the other way round. Consequently it cannot be accepted if one or the other journalist actually wants to please himself in the role of an attorney or investigating judge, injuring thereby the estimation of his colleagues. It is my individual observation that it is precisely these journalists who are the loudest to demand democracy, the protection of the

rights of personality, and the observation of the norms of human relations--when they themselves are concerned. A reporter who does not reproach his interview partner with facts, but makes the viewer or reader feel whether the declaration made corresponds or does not correspond to the truth will not become smaller by anything.

Wisinger: But where is the limit?

Lakatos: It always depends on the man. It happened that I rang up the president of the National Statistical Office to congratulate him, because when the reporter of the radio began to ply him with questions he answered him somehow like this: "You see, I gladly make a declaration but you are unprepared and do not know this subject well enough."

Wisinger: Or else, have you already called up also a journalist?

Lakatos: Naturally. I watch with great attention the work of my journalist colleagues, and consider it my duty to support their valuable and useful activity. And I join the reporters who work with courage and determination. I am always ready to stick up for them.

Wisinger: It is not easy for a journalist either to stand his ground. To what extent is, in your opinion, a journalist who has to come up to practically millions of viewpoints a dramatic hero of our age?

Lakatos: I hope this will not offend anyone--I would not do a thing like that even in my thoughts, but I must give my version--it is not the journalist I regard as the dramatic hero of our age, if there is such a one. Rather the economic leaders. They carry on, indeed, a fight on several fronts, they are exposed to unexpected and quick changes and their consequences, and they are directly responsible for the decisions they make in the extremely strained situation. Naturally the responsibility of journalists must not be underrated either because by their work they doubtlessly reflect the process and consequences of this dramatic struggle, of its firmness, or in some cases of its failure.

If I may answer this question also in a more general approach I would say that the true hero of our age is creative man, wanting to live under all circumstances, and undertaking responsibility and sacrifices for progress, independently of whether he is an engineer, iron turner, or just a journalist.

Wisinger: In your opinion, what may a journalist think who drafts report on a defaulting office delivery-man whose pay a month--with his four forms of general school--was 5,000 forints? His pay, with a university diploma, having passed a language exam of high degree, and several years of practice is hardly a little more, if at all.

Lakatos: I do not like this comparison. If a chief accountant or an economic manager steals together with the delivery-man it is inevitable that he considers the pay of the latter to be unfairly high. There will never be a remedy against such a thing, and such extreme cases are, in my opinion, not suitable for portraying a really burning social tension. In this form it is not a good

example, do not take it amiss, this is demagogy! Otherwise the adjustment of the income of journalists has been on the agenda for a long time. The bodies concerned--trade union, MUOSZ, Information Office--are ready with a project comprehensively adjusting the situation. As soon as the financial sources of the country offer an opportunity they will submit it, so that a change can be brought about in the basic income of journalists. Mainly as regards the strata with very low earnings, that is in respect of those who work in the fields of the county press and factory press. If we did not live in such an extremely difficult economic situation, we would have solved this question already long ago. Even so it cannot be postponed too long. I emphasize that this burning question is kept on the agenda by the competent state and social bodies.

Wisinger: We have heard that at a conference of chief editors, after your critical remarks, you dealt out "yellow cards" [warning-card]. What does this mean?

Lakatos: I should not like to get entangled in this subject now, at the end of our talk. But since you mentioned it I should like to say that the aim of that expression taken from sporting life had been to ease the atmosphere and to refer to the comradely and friendly nature of the relation between guidance and the guided. Surely all of us feel that we serve a common cause. For me it was a warning sign that there were some who react too sensitively to the just criticism concerning our work. In the concrete case referred to it attracted attention after the general assessment of the information received by us that programmes and writings of certain information fora, editor's offices, not properly examined and shallow in nature, and from time to time also showing political mistakes, had made public opinion but also the leadership feel uneasy. Subjects were concerned in respect of which we had previously shaped our standpoint jointly, as well as the tone to be used and the conduct, and had asked that the given range of subjects should be couched with care because contrarily grave damage could be caused. This information got stuck, in one or the other editor's office things were handled as if it had not reached them at all, and the result was: a faulty, bad programme, a contestable product, against which those competent to deal with such matters will have to take rigorous measures also in future, because they disturb the assertion of common interests.

Wisinger: Can it be imagined that the "yellow card" will be followed by a "red card" [pink slip]?

Lakatos: If we stick to this expression in sporting life, I believe the answer is yes. I once more wish to emphasize: the institutions of mass information constitute the people's property, and no one has the right to use them at the expense of the community. The different spheres of work are not fidei-commissa in the press either, and if someone for whatever reason--health, political, lasting inattention or indifference--becomes unfit for this work then, I believe, also a "red card" can be imagined. That is on the part of the "card owners" issuing and taking care of the cards, who are competent in this matter.

Wisinger: How do you consider the professional suitability and preparedness of the journalists?

Lakatos: It is very heartening that in the past years the press has been enriched by an extremely valuable, gifted, and well-prepared young generation. By young people possessing practical knowledge, political alignment, and sound knowledge of languages. Many of them have proved that they are suitable for tackling intricate tasks. At the same time it must also be realized that these young people are typical representatives of the so-called "peace veteran" generation. There are some among them who were born at the time of the counter-revolution and just after it, consequently they do not possess the necessary practical experience and are not properly seasoned. I do not wish them a hard life, but we shall have to bear in mind that this young set cannot have the bitter experience of the contradictions of the capitalist society, nor the important and contradictory experiences of the initial stage of socialism.

They have no direct experiences of the exploiting society, of the class struggles, of sectarianism, or of revisionism. Figuratively speaking this generation is used to sunshine, and they never tried on battle dress. Consequently, at the slightest breeze in either foreign or internal politics they believe that the wind is blowing, and if actually the wind is getting up they think storm has come and the end of the world. We must, indeed, hasten to the assistance of the more experienced generation. It causes grave worries that the medium generation is missing because the training of the rising generation has been stagnant for 10-15 years. On those beyond the age of 50 disproportionately great tasks devolve in the vocational preparation of the younger generation. Regarding the situation as a whole I see that the society of journalists has experienced a great deal, and that it is well-prepared as regards knowledge and profession. It is ready for the accomplishment of ever newer and newer tasks, and for doing so it enjoys the maximum confidence. It is in the knowledge of this that we must work in the field of mass information involving no easy labour.

CSO: 2500/81



## COMMANDERS DISCUSS THEIR UNITS' ACTIVITIES

## Engineer Troops

Warsaw DROGI KOLEJOWE in Polish No 10, Oct 83 p 322

[Interview conducted by DROGI KOLEJOWE with General Leopold Raznowiecki, head of the Engineer Troops of the Polish People's Army]

[Text] Forty years ago, the First Infantry Division of the Polish People's Army [LWP] fought a bloody battle on the doorstep of our oppressed country. The dedication of Polish soldiers on all the fronts of World War II did not end with our final victory, but continued well thereafter. They gave their lives in the Bieszczady region while fighting bands of Ukrainian fascists; they perished while clearing the countryside of unexploded mines and shells; they made sacrifices in the struggle to establish the power of the people.

At the same time, even after they had been released from active duty, units of the LWP actively participated in the reconstruction of our economy. This activity on the part of our armed forces resulted in incredible benefits for our country, including many for the Polish State Railroad [PKP]. Indeed, the contributions of our soldiers in rescuing life, limb and property and in successfully overcoming snow and frost cannot be measured in zlotys.

The 40th anniversary of the emergence of the Polish People's Army provides an excellent opportunity, if only in an area important to our readers, to recall some of the army's accomplishments.

With this in mind, the editors of DROGI KOLEJOWE requested an interview with Brigadier General and Master Engineer Leopold Raznowiecki, the head of the Engineer Troops of the LWP.

[Question] The 40th Anniversary of the Polish People's Army, which is occurring this month, is especially near and dear to thousands of rail service and rail construction workers who have acknowledged in their daily efforts the assistance rendered by the Army in the restoration of tracks and rail

facilities and the modernization of route lines and stations, and in its removal of the results of natural disasters and the rescue of people. In sincerely congratulating you, General, on the occasion of this holiday, we would like to ask on behalf of the readers of DROGI KOLEJOWE for a summary of the contributions being made by military units in the development of the railway infrastructure in Poland.

[Answer] Beyond the execution of their basic national defense roles, railway and road units undertake, within the capacity of the training and thoroughly understanding the important productive impact on the national economy, many ventures. These efforts are a continuation of the glorious military traditions of railway, bridge and road units of 1944 which performed significant missions in securing communications for the operations of the First and Second Polish Armies during World War II. From that time, these units have been improving the organization, training and education of their soldiers, while enhancing their combat preparedness. The units have also doubled their ability to use onhand materials and resources to meet production targets for the national economy.

These soldiers--rail, road and bridge specialists--have been and continue to be present where society needs dedicated, professional, expert and productive efforts. Although their active duty training lasts 7 to 8 months a year, they understand the need to develop further and maintain the transportation capabilities of the country--something which is an essential and critical part of the economy and also something which impacts on the national defense effort. The soldiers of rail and road units actively participate in the implementation of the many investment projects and undertakings of the Transportation Ministry.

Some of the most important of these ventures in which rail and road units have participated are: the construction of the Central Rail Line of the PKP; the construction of an expressway between Warsaw and Katowice; the construction of the Huta-Siarkowa Line, in which rail and engineer units participated (they built a 58 kilometer stretch), in the region of Hrubieszow, Sedziszow and Kozlow; and the construction of the Nadodrzenska Coal Way.

Beyond all this, rail and road units, along with units from the territorial defense, helped to construct roads in the Bieszczady region, the Krakow-Zakopane, Krakow-Gliwice and Warsaw-Poznan expressways, and the expansion of the Silesian and Gdansk transportation depots.

During their active duty training, these units assist in all important efforts associated with the extension and modernization of the Warsaw transportation depot.

We also have to consider the following as belonging to the most important missions executed by rail and road units: participation in the construction of the Lazienki Highway, the Vistula Expressway, the Central Train Station, the Modlin Highway, the Torun Bridge, and in the expansion of the Okecie Airport.

Even in Poland's most difficult moments, especially at the outset of the period of martial law, our rail soldiers rendered great assistance and unselfishly executed other duties, especially in the transloading of meat and other foodstuffs at border transloading points and in keeping the main rail lines open. They also were efficient in undertaking numerous "Semafor" actions together with operational units of the army, militia, Railway Guards and PKP employees.

**[Question]** Military service provides young people with many opportunities to acquire new qualifications. Under conditions of a considerable shortage of qualified personnel in the PKP, the acquisition of the profession of trade engineer or other such specializations would accrue advantages not only to those interested, but also to the railroad. What evidence in this area, i.e., in the training of personnel for the railroad, is there in military rail units?

**[Answer]** Rail and road units release annually several thousand soldiers who are specialists because they achieved the requirements during military service to be engineers or operators of various kinds of equipment, and they acquired specialties necessary in the construction of roads, bridges, rail lines and many other facilities. As such, beyond the training of personnel reserves, many soldiers were guaranteed a profession, and the national economy the necessary experts and sought-after specialties.

The assistance of the soldiers and equipment of rail and road units in overcoming natural calamities also deserves our attention.

#### Air Force Training

Poznan-Warsaw PRZEGLAD WOJSK LOTNICZYCH I WOJSK OBRONY POWIETRZNEJ KRAJU  
in Polish No 11, Nov 83 pp 6-12

**[Interview with Aviator Division General Tytus Krawczy by Colonel Kazimierz Stec: "Efficient, Systematic and Safe Training"]**

**[Text]** "The main mission of our air force during peace time is systematically to acquire the knowledge and know-how necessary for individual soldiers to defeat a strong, well-armed, well-equipped and well-trained enemy in the air and on the ground." This mission is often recited by the commander of the Air Force, Aviator Division General Tytus Krawczyc. All other activities undertaken by air force units have to be subordinated to this primary mission. These other activities have to create and guarantee the best conditions for achieving this mission.

Long acknowledged canons are still binding for the combat training of troops, including air force personnel. However, partial goals, principles, methods and training procedures were established in certain years and even for short periods of time. In order to acquaint our readers with how these problems will be dealt with in 1984, our editors requested an interview with the commander of the Air Force, Aviator Division General Tytus Krawczyc.

Question Currently, a special training program for the coming year is being drawn up in our air force units. Is this being done as has been done in previous years?

Answer The way planning is done has not changed. In previous years, it was developed and carried out. There really was no need to change it. We are making changes only in the plan's contents for the year's activities. Some of these changes have to do with theory. The problem of training all soldiers in theory is dealt with a great deal in the annual program. Sometimes, however, its implementation causes problems. Hence, we strive to divide subjects optimally and select them based on their quantity and quality. The guiding principle has been to select the subjects dealing with theory, to cover exclusively those problems which are useful in executing those missions resulting from the tactical nature of the unit. As such, we consider all the current levels of theoretical training which have been covered by particular soldiers at our facilities and in our schools. We need to reduce the total number of theoretical subjects and also to eliminate avoidable repetition therein, since a considerable number of our students can become excessively bored during such lectures. We are focusing significant attention on the implementation of theory so that the lectures can deal more extensively with current requirements. This is especially important to those who fly. I believe that we need to cover only these subjects with pilots first class. We will watch how the training in aerodynamics goes. We are always learning something, but only in this one same area. Even hobbyists are able to impress people with their current knowledge of this subject. There are still pilots who cannot fly the most modern of our aircraft because they only know about "ancient" aerodynamics. On the other hand, more often than not, we need to lecture about new devices, such as turbines, or about what happens with the new types of aircraft with retractable wings. A pilot, even if he does not fly such an aircraft, wants to know the characteristics of piloting such a craft, if only out of human curiosity. We should be able to give them this opportunity.

A practical problem is associated with the teaching of theory, namely how to fly. I believe the time has come to analyze critically how this is done. It seems to me that we need to differentiate the training standards in preparing pilots for flight, while still teaching them theory. We need to allow more advanced pilots greater independence in utilizing time set aside for flight preparation.

Another issue associated with planning, and something I would like to say a few words about, deals with an experiment in organization. We would like to investigate in 1984 the usefulness of the so-called "hard and fast" weekly schedule with our weather conditions. For instance, we will schedule flights in the regiment during this week on Tuesday and Friday, and, regardless of whether there were any flights on Tuesday, the next flying day will be Friday.

Why do we think like this? Well, if we schedule flights "for around such and such a time," and the weather keeps forcing us to reschedule from day to day, we irretrievably lose a great deal of time. Experience proves that



if we cancel flights after the first aircraft have moved out onto the runway, then we can only utilize around 3 hours that day for something else. If the flights are canceled after the weather has turned bad, then only 2 hours remain.

Question If the scheduled flights do not go on Tuesday, then, according to your plan, they have to go on Friday.

Answer Yes, although there may be instances when the scheduled flights for Tuesday will be postponed until the following week, while we will follow the schedule for Friday on Friday.

We will see how the unit experimenting with this idea will implement the air training program in relation to those units still scheduling flights according to the older principle. Perhaps the experiment will confirm our expectations only partially, and then only because of our poor weather conditions. Perhaps we will introduce the "hard and fast" weekly schedule only in the summer. After a year of experience, we will make a decision on it.

Question This is how the GDR's air force does it.

Answer But of course, We observed this system of weekly scheduling while visiting our GDR comrades. While we were exchanging our experiences, a squadron of GDR fighter aircraft had been training for awhile at one of our airfields. The squadron's leaders convinced our officers that such a schedule had passed the test in the GDR. We confirmed this during a visit by our squadrons to the GDR as guests of their aviators.

Our next problem. We would like to plan tactical training a little differently. With regard to this, we will decentralize a bit. Some experiences gained last year provide us with the basis to assume that this is the way we should go.

The essence of this decentralization consists of correlating the training plans so that individual units, especially tactical ones, are forced to coordinate among themselves and define their plans while they organize training flights for their units and with other tactical units of the air force, training directly with them or separately in the area of the target.

The joint action training between air force units and ground force units should go the same way. This will result in obvious and mutual advantages. Let us take a look at the strengths of fighter-bomber aircraft. Tactics require that the target be attacked on the first flyover. But for the attack to be effective, the target has to be first suitably detected and identified. This is a very difficult mission. To know how to accomplish this, it is necessary to train systematically over various types of terrain. One cannot learn this flying repeatedly over the same range in order to seek out a memorized, simulated target. This type of training consciously reduces its effectiveness and conflicts with its goals.

I believe that there is nothing preventing aircraft crews on their way to execute fire missions on the range from identifying and locating their targets (a subunit of the ground forces) which is located at a distance from the air range itself. I will say more; a condition for mission success at the range should be the detection and identification of a designated target beyond the range.

Such air training obviously requires increased efforts and imagination on the part of our staffs. But we have to increase these efforts because that is what the situation demands, as does the logic of effective and efficient combat training, i.e., the maximum adaptation of training conditions to the realities of the battlefield itself. This is even more necessary in a situation when the potential opponent is equipping his forces at an unparalleled rate with ever-newer and more effective weapons systems which threatens us evermore because of their quick reaction capabilities.

What I have said about the training plan is only a small part of the general plan for our activities. A substantial number of the problems of leadership and guidance is being dealt with in various ways. In September of last year, a council of air force commanders met and collectively decided on the directions and forms of specific training plans for air force units in 1984. Thanks to this council, the lowest command echelons had the right information on our purposes and intentions. We have increased the opportunities to render assistance to and control over the planning process in air force regiments.

Question Then there will be many changes in combat training. Perhaps, General, you might want to tell us what the aim of training in 1984 will be.

Answer There will be several changes. We are a military organization and we have to be able to reach operational goals which we regard as primary. We also have another group of partial goals associated with improvements in specialization. We can mention the enhancement of the effectiveness of tactical training; the intensive implementation of a training program in our units for young pilots from the Higher Air Force Officers School; the training of the air crew on new types of aircraft; the increase in the level of training programs at the Higher Air Force Officers School and centers which train specialists for the air force; the enhancement of the organizational efficiency of our staffs; and the improvement of the state of military order and mission discipline.

We are trying to achieve our goals without lowering the safety standards of our flight program. Our struggle for flight safety will be expressed in a whole series of undertakings starting with the best training for our instructional personnel and ending with proper planning itself. We will emphasize the total training of the pilot, thus enabling him to survive in the air. We need to expand what we have already talked about: the new elements to be found in today's flight, which the pilot must think through. While preparing for a specific flight, the pilot must consider all of the flight's variants. He has to know what to do if atmospheric conditions worsen during his flight, where he will land, at which reserve field, what approach to use, etc.

**[Question]** I understand that beyond and purely formal preparation for the flight, one must imagine the various aspects of any single flight...

**[Answer]** Of course, the rationale behind such preparation should lead to the result that the pilot ponders various situations while still on the ground, that he is mentally prepared before his takeoff, so that he does not have to spend time in the air making a decision. We know from experience that once the pilot is already in the air and has to spend time thinking about what has suddenly cropped up, it is easy to make a mistake and act less correctly.

**[Question]** It is going to be a busy year for the pilots, replete with routine and new requirements. In this situation, with all its aspects, what are the chances of fully implementing the goals and intentions of the new program?

**[Answer]** They are very good. I base this on the results of what happened last year. We carried out our tasks well. This year should be even easier. We have presented our troops with even more realistic tasks. We have provided the resources which will guarantee the tasks' implementation. We have also made some changes in personnel which should contribute to the modernization of our administration. I am convinced that we will conduct our pilot training tasks with honor. We will also improve the state of military order and discipline in all of its aspects. Without close compliance with rules and regulations, the air force could not function correctly. I stress this strongly and will do everything so that this truth is realized by every leader, chief, soldier specialist guards and all civilian employees. Some believe that the process of flight training can be accomplished without knowledge of the Rules and Regulations of Internal Service. This is a fact. We are soldiers and have to know our regulations. We will most certainly check our troops' familiarity with them and also their compliance.

**[Question]** One hears the opinion (of certain commanders and air force staff officers) that it is impossible to maintain the same level of discipline in our air force units as in the ground forces. Some even go so far as to say: either air force training or combined-arms and formal field discipline. There is no time or set of conditions for both.

**[Answer]** I do not agree. A soldier does not have to know the duties of a sergeant of the guard because he has 4 hours to prepare himself before assuming his duties; he can learn (recall) them during these 4 hours. But he does have to know the principles of soldierly conduct, inasmuch as he has to react immediately in various service situations in accordance with the provisions of military regulations. He does not have the time to find out then how he should act in a given situation. I cite one example which will provide an insight into what ignorance of our regulations or non-compliance with the principles of reporting the results of the tasked mission can lead to in the air force. At one of our airfields, a mechanic was standing next to an aircraft waiting for a battery to be disconnected by equipment specialists because he had been told go refuel the aircraft. The mechanic left the aircraft without reporting that he had not yet carried out his order. As a

result, the aircraft took off without a full fuel tank. An accident or even a catastrophe did not occur only because of the correct reaction on the part of the pilot and flight navigator. This is a classic example of how non-compliance with the basics of military regulations can complicate the course of flight training. Let this be a warning for all those who push this oft-quoted theme of "either-or."

**[Question]** I understand that great emphasis will be placed on the correlation of training in the air with specialty and combined-arms training which will guarantee the systematic execution of missions assigned to the units.

**[Answer]** Of course. A lot has been said, perhaps everything, about training and discipline. Now we have to perform in accordance with our fundamental principles and competence.

**[Question]** Should we now expect certain specific actions because of this performance?

**[Answer]** No. We will act according to the motto of General of the Army Wojciech Jaruzelski: Everyone does his job, does it well, reports its completion, is verified and held accountable. This motto must become an iron-clad rule in the behavior of all members of our air force community, not only of those directly associated with flight training, but also of those in all services and specialties organizing, protecting and insuring air activities.

**[Question]** The editorial staff has been receiving materials from air units. These materials show that a number of trainees believe the current flight training methodology to be proper; others are calling for modifications therein. This refers to the particularly excessive restrictions associated with pilot safety.

**[Answer]** I know that this issue has many sides. In considering this issue, one needs to refer to history and to our own memories. After 35 years of service in the air force, I have seen how rules regulating the methodological side of flight training have changed. Initially, these rules were only general instructions which did not limit instructor or commander initiative. We criticized them, saying that they were only generalities. Our superiors took our criticisms to heart and systematically redid the regulations. The swollen outgoing instructions were published in parts, supplemented and then had annexes attached to them. Today, there are too many regulations which describe training methods; beyond this, they are still too general. Instead of assisting and facilitating, they have become a brake and limit the initiative of our trainees. Once it seemed that life was richer because of anticipation. We have to change this state of affairs. However, we will not do this hastily because a poor system which functions is better than no system at all. It is necessary to approach every specific problem intelligently if we are to train methodically with regard to general and current regulations. We have such an experienced and trained cadre of regimental and divisional commanders that we can grant them considerably more trust and allow them to show intelligence and imagination in flight training.



**[Question]** Does this mean that the "corset" of specific regulations will be loosened?

**[Answer]** Yes, in certain areas. However, this causes an increase in the number of demands placed and in the extension of individual responsibility for that area of service represented. I think that we will one day drop our closely programmed approach to flying, but at the same time the inspection of the pilot with regard to flight preparation will radically change. The application of this system will also have the effect that it will force trainers to know well not only the regulations themselves, but also the intentions thereof. Today, when we have almost 1,000 pages of training regulations, the way to comply with them is not by memorizing them.

That we have to modernize the regulations on flight training is proven by the fact that it is very difficult to apply measured criticism in this activity. After all, the instructor who passes a student or allows him to fly on his own cannot minutely measure everything the student knows. These are subjective evaluations. A student can do something better than other students. Afterwards, before his first solo, he has made many excellent flights with his instructor. For this reason, we refer to statistics and then take the risk. We know that if they have more experience, the probability of error will be small. Also for this reason, the instructor himself does not pass the pilot on to a solo flight in a new type of aircraft. The pilot is evaluated by both the flight commander and someone else from the squadron command. Specialists with various experiences make the determination. For this reason, the basis for permission to fly solo cannot be a dry regulation, but collective common sense. This is necessary for every area of our activity. I am glad that our instructor personnel exhibit such common sense.

**[Question]** I believe that your opinion, General, pleases the instructors.

**[Answer]** I remember when I was at the school in Deblin 19 years ago. The problems faced by a pilot-technical instructor are still near and dear to me. At the same time, I know that it is still a very difficult and responsible job. I also know that we will have the same kind of pilot in our regiments as we have instructors at our school.

**[Question]** Experience has proven that training results to a large extent depend on the atmosphere in which it is conducted. Does the existing situation here satisfy you, General?

**[Answer]** My own experiences confirm that the atmosphere in which tasks are accomplished immensely influences the quality of their completion. Conditions for maintaining a good atmosphere in flight collectives are: rigorous demands on the part of superiors and conscious discipline on the part of subordinates; sincerity between superiors and subordinates (in both directions); consideration for individual personal characteristics; and ready availability of a specific superior (the political officer), even during seemingly unsuitable moments. In other words, frequent contacts between people.

**[Question]** But this factor has already been considered. Atmosphere is something else.

**[Answer]** The key is to intensify it, give it an active form and, in some cases, a new content as well. I will add that we cannot rely on only punishments in the air force, and build an entire order on the threat of consequences. Every superior must make distinctions. After all, we often work longer than 8 hours. We should explain to people why it is necessary to do so. In other words, we need to use those methods and criteria of evaluation which the subordinate would expect from his superior.

**[Question]** Experience teaches this.

**[Answer]** Yes. One who is happy will work more productively. In simply answering your question about atmosphere, I can affirm that we have no problems of a special nature. The people in our air force work selflessly. They work well because our organizational and technical conditions allow them to do so.

**[Question]** Your predecessor, General, Aviator Division General T. Krepski, was particularly concerned about creating and maintaining a good work atmosphere. He did a lot in this area.

**[Answer]** I am convinced that we need to maintain this course. I will continue to do so. If changes are introduced, then they will not come because I want to change the work or command style within the air force. Changes occur because of life and the need to renovate that which now needs renovation and can be renovated.

**[Question]** One last question. Comrade General, you have commanded the air force now for 6 months. It is still too early to hear something from the public. But have you already heard something?

**[Answer]** A great deal already. But it is still too early to talk about this. I suggest that you return with your question after a year. Then I will be able to inform your readers of what and how we are implementing the goals we have already talked about today. But one comment can be noted down. I hope that all our air force personnel will take it to heart. We all have to understand that in our country's situation we have no other alternative but to train in every respect more efficiently, methodically, with rigorous observance of discipline and more safety.

**[Interviewer]** Thank you for the interview. We will see you next year.

12247  
CSO: 2600/501

DAILY REPORTS NEW POLITICAL ARRESTS

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 12 Dec 83 p 4

[Article by PAP correspondent: "Security Service Has Arrested Next Group of Lawbreakers"]

[Text] Parallel with the institution of a law granting amnesty to those who have committed political crimes if they come forward voluntarily, the Security Service is conducting systematic activities, entrusted to it by law, of a revelatory and repressive nature aimed at those who have not decided to halt their illegal activity. In a number of cases the necessity to bring lawbreakers to justice becomes the inevitable consequence of such an attitude. In recent days, among other actions:

In Gdansk a group of several Lenin Shipyard workers were arrested who had conducted illegal activity within the framework of a so-called secret plant commission on the shipyard grounds.

In Katowice in recent days members of the underground structure of the former Solidarity trade union, called the Interplant Coordinating Commission of the Silesia-Dabrowsk Region, were detained. The main form of their activity was the printing and distribution of illegal publications, newsletters and leaflets calling for various adversarial events. Material assets for the illegal activity were derived from, among other sources, the sale in commissions of goods from foreign parcels sent as gifts for the most needy individuals, as well as charges for illegal publications.

On the detainees' premises they called into question printing equipment, paper, printer's ink and other objects connected with criminal activity as well as illegal publications prepared for distribution. The provincial prosecutor placed nine of the most active members of the group under temporary arrest.

In Wroclaw a group of a dozen or so workers of the Municipal Transportation Enterprise were discovered who had been distributing illegal publications in their plant and organizing drives to finance the political underground. The WUSW [Provincial Office of Internal Affairs] in Wroclaw also revealed another illegal group of several people comprised of workers at various Wroclaw plants. They were occupied with the production of antistate publications. The prosecutor's office placed them under temporary arrest.

In Gorzow Wielkopolski members of a several-member group composed of workers at local plants who were occupied with the distribution of illegal antistate publications were arrested. Among them was Irena P., a member of the presidium of the former plant commission of NSZZ [Independent Self-governing Trade Union] Solidarity in the Silwan Silk Industry Plants, who had been interned during martial law, sentenced for illegal activity in 1982 after her release from internment and freed from prison in July 1983 under the amnesty law.

8729

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CEAUSESCU'S VIEWS ON SOLVING 'CONTRADICTIONS' IN SOCIETY EXAMINED

Bucharest CONTEMPORANUL in Romanian 23 Dec 83 p 4

[Article by Dr Ion Batlan: "The View of the Romanian Communist Party and Its Secretary General, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, Regarding the Action and Solution of Contradictions in Social Affairs"]

[Text] The materialist-dialectic approach to existence shows the fact that any specific reality, although identical to itself in the relatively static state, is necessarily a division of a single entity in contradictory components, the unity of opposite and divergent facets. The unity of contrary factors is expressed concomitantly with opposition and tension between these factors since, by coexisting as facets and tendencies of the same process, these contrary factors are mutually negated. The law of unity and the struggle of contrary factors, as an objective law, work both in nature and in society, and it is a universal law of existence and the dynamics of existence, being expressed, however specifically. At each level of the existence of matter in motion, the unity and polarity of opposite facets exhibit specific characteristics and qualitative differences.

Research into existence of the social type, as a distinct field of existence, leads to the identification of the universal and specific nature of contradictions since society, both in its relationships with nature and in its relative autonomy, is characterized by its own contradictions which determine its movement and evolution. Its own means of expressing social contradictions resides in the fact that, in differing from nature where contradictions are developed and resolved by themselves spontaneously as blind forces, in the social realm they are co-substantial activities of mankind and they are expressed as interhuman relationships where there is a permanent linking of the objective and subjective facets. Their objective, necessary basis is created from the differences in goals and interests, based on relationships of ownership, between classes, elements, social groups and individuals. The original, creative spirit that defines all the theoretical and practical activities of our party and its secretary general, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, in dealing with the laws of dialectics in social affairs includes the thesis whereby the appearance, expression and resolution of contradictions between changes and stability, between the new things that are developing and that which is old and outdated have constituted and constitute the source of progress for human society. "The permanent struggle between old and new," stated comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, "will continue to also be expressed in communism and will constitute the motive force for the progress of human society.

The dialectic law of the struggle on contrary factors and contradictions is also expressed in socialism, and it will be expressed, without a doubt, in one form or another in communist society." Their scope and nature and the means for resolving them incontestably bear the imprint of the social system in which they occur.

In capitalist society, on the basis of diametric, irreconcilable opposition of economic and political interests, the basic social contradictions take on an antagonistic character and generate acute conflicts between the classes that are in the struggle, with the socialist social revolution being required as an objective, lawful requirement for resolving these types of contradictions.

The creation of socialist society ensures a unified economic base - socialist ownership of the means of production, relationships in production of cooperation and mutual assistance, and a superstructure that is adequate for these. It irreversibly eliminated exploitation, establishing socialist ownership and an equitable relationship between people, first of all by ensuring the payment of wages according to the quantity, quality and social importance of labor. On this basis, in socialist society the law of contradictions continues and will continue to operate at all the levels of structures in the social system. "Contradictions exist and will continue to appear in any society," stated comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. "They cannot be resolved by an attitude of denial, but rather by understanding and studying the causes that generate them and, on this basis, by conscious actions to eliminate the old state of affairs and daringly promote the new." By the nature of the system, contradictions belonging to socialism are non-antagonistic and developmental. This does not mean, however, in our party's view, that if these contradictions are not recognized and understood in time and detail, if appropriate measures are not taken to eliminate the causes that generate them, they cannot be aggravated, cannot, even in socialism, take on an antagonistic nature, endangering the existence of socialism in that country. In consistently supporting these ideas that have resulted from the scientific analysis of social experience, the documents of our party and the speeches made by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu contain profound, scientific analyses of the phenomena of contradictions in our society, as well as solutions included in the broad programs for the economic, social, political and spiritual development of our country.

In the view of our party and its secretary general, a first group of contradictions could stem from the dynamics themselves of our socialist system. Here we could include: the contradictions between the powerful development of the forces of production and the tendency of production relations to lag behind; the certain gaps or disproportions between the levels of development of various sectors and branches of the national economy, such as those between the processing industry and the energy and raw materials base, between industry and agriculture, between consumption requirements and the level of development of society; the contradictions in the framework of production relations, of relationships regarding ownership and distribution, of the forms and methods of economic-social organization, management and planning; the contradictions between the development of the forces of production and society's technical

base and the people's level of awareness and their political-ideological, professional and technical training. A second group of contradictions has its source in the material and spiritual legacy transmitted by the old system. In here, we can include the contradictions generated by the differences between the village and the city, between physical labor and intellectual work, those due to the division of labor, the structure of the population in different sectors of activity, the level of professional education and training, the distribution of production forces throughout the national economy, and the persistence of certain retrograde mentalities and behaviors that are foreign to the socialist principles of working and living, of certain mystical concepts belonging to certain outdated eras, and so forth.

Both groups of contradictions are blended together and have mutual influences upon each other. We should not omit the effects that are exercised in one form or another, and sometimes in an unforeseeable manner, by international phenomena upon the contradictions in our economic-social affairs. This is the source of the need to promote a broad, multilateral view in the analysis and resolution of contradictions from whatever level and in any field of social affairs. The scientific analysis of contradictions, as well as the solutions for resolution contained in the program documents of the party and in the speeches by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, begin with the premise of combating the idyllic and non-dialectic views regarding socialist society as a system of absolute harmony, one totally lacking contradictions. The advice of the secretary general and his example in the study of contradictions have as a final result the assurance of balance and agreement between the forces of production and the relations of production and between the different sectors of economic-social activities. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's credit lies not only in the competent analysis and revealing of the contradictions of the country's current stage of development, but also in the efficiency of the measures arrived at so that through their resolution they will become functional and will contribute to the development of the entire social fabric.

Thus, efficient solutions are proposed that include: the continuing adaptation of knowledge and discoveries to the characteristics of the modern production process and to the diversification of economic branches and technical resources, as well as the forms of the social division of labor for the purpose of overcoming certain disparities between the material components and the human ones of the forces of production, between the quantitative and qualitative facets of labor in all sectors of activity; the need to carry out the new agrarian revolution in order to ensure an optimum balance between industry and agriculture; the firm orientation towards the more powerful development of consumer goods production and services, concomitantly with the establishment of consumption at the level of existing possibilities, beginning with the principle that we cannot consume beyond the level of the material base and the production attained by society. Within this same framework, efforts are being made in order to improve production relations so that they will constitute a powerful factor for accelerating the introduction of technical and scientific progress in all the branches of material production and will stimulate the incentives of the socialist units and the producers in accentuating the qualitative factors



of economic growth; we are working in order to improve activities in organization, management, planning and forecasting in the country's economic-social development, in order to strengthen worker self-management and self-administration and the new economic-financial mechanism, and in order to have an effective, real expression of the status of the members of our society as owners, producers and users of all economic and social development. In the view of our party and its secretary general, sustained efforts are needed in order to have full use of the framework that has been created through the system of direct and representative workers democracy, as well as to have harmony in individual, group and general interests and to develop the motivational factors that must animate the convergent and sustained social actions of all the members of society, especially by strictly adhering to the norms and principles of socialist ethics and equity.

All these solutions cannot be objectified in our social practice, cannot attenuate the existing contradictions or disproportions if, as comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, there is no qualitative increase in the role of the party organs and organizations in promoting new things at the level of each step in social affairs and if any type of contradiction is not promptly recognized and resolved by conscious, responsible actions. In this regard, it is necessary to have a permanent improvement in the style and methods of the activities of the party organs and organizations in accordance with the requirements of the changes that have taken place in society. This requires the cultivation of the militant, combative, revolutionary spirit of responsibility and exigency, the prevention of the appearance and the elimination of any type of phenomenon of bureaucratism, routine, inertia or formalism, of the failure to taken into account the real problems of the people, of support to and stimulation of the people's valuable initiatives, of increasing the efficiency of all educational actions dedicated to the creation of the new man, of a continuing development of social and individual responsibilities, of the creation in the work group of an atmosphere appropriate to creative work, principledness, human solidarity and so forth. The party organs and organizations must militate and be permanently based upon the penetrating power of the advanced example of the communist in promoting new things and in combating outdated aspects in order to prevent any dysfunctions and contradictions that might appear in our social practice.

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8724

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## ROMANIA

### VIENNA PAPER COMMENTS ON CEAUSESCU FAMILY

Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 23 Dec 83 p 2

[Text] With his election to "First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Youth Association" of Romania, Nicu Ceausescu has climbed the next rung on the career ladder. Together with father Nicolae and mother Elena, he is now the third person from the close family circle who is at the immediate center of power. The 33-year old had already become a member of the "adult" Central Committee a year ago.

In Romania, being related to the omnipotent head of state and of the party is practically a guarantee of influential positions. However, the "conducator" drops unruly proteges again in the final phase of his rule. Nephew Cornel Burtica, dismissed last year as minister for foreign trade, has disappeared from the picture. Malicious tongues claim that it was not his disposition to take world tours and carry on murky financial transactions that cost him his office, but the hopeless economic situation of the country combined with Ceausescu's search for a scapegoat.

This also applies to the brothers-in-law: Manea Manescu and Ilie Verdet, who were both once prime ministers, were forced to surrender in the face of insuperable economic problems. But they did not fare as badly as Burtica: Manescu is allowed to appear in the national council as one of Ceausescu's deputies, while Verdet is even exercising a certain power as secretary of the Central Committee. Both of them are also members of the Executive Committee, the highest decision-making body in the party (after Ceausescu). Brother-in-law Gheorghe Petrescu can also make policy as vice premier.

Ceausescu's wife Elena is not only an internationally recognized scientist in the field of macromolecular chemistry, but also the embodiment of the multi-functionary. "Comrade member of the Academy Dr Engineer" (official title) sits on all political committees in Romania: as the first deputy premier in the government, as a member of the Standing Bureau of the Political Executive Committee in the party and, as if for security, as chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology, again in the government. Nicu is more unassuming: only a few representational functions in mass organizations are added to those already mentioned.

All the other relatives, like the remaining top functionaries, are jumbled up by Ceausescu on the principle of rotation. The politically more modest but professionally oriented members of the Ceausescu clan have a better time. Brother Marin has been able to act as his country's trade advisor in the embassy in Vienna since 1973, son Valentin--the most recent information is from 1981--is the "leading member" of the Maghurele nuclear center, daughter Zoe is the head of the mathematics department at the Henri-Coanda Institute, brother Florea is the correspondent at large for the party newspaper SCINTEIA and half-brother Nicolae is in the diplomatic service like Marin.

Brother Ilie is something of a maverick. The former lecturer for history at the Bucharest Military Institute has risen to the position of deputy minister for defense and was recently responsible for the historical proof of the unity of Romania: in a long-winded series in the official party periodical LUMEA he wrote under the title: "Transsylvania--Romanian Soil from Time Immemorial."

Naturally, the most dazzling career is predicted for Nicu. Western diplomats do see one danger for him: since he has been leading the youth association his father could develop a fear of him as well.

9581

CSO: 2300/221

HISTORY OF TRANSYLVANIA REVIEWED BY ILIE CEAUSESCU

Cluj-Napoca TRIBUNA in Romanian 1 Dec 83 p 16

[Interview with Lt Gen Dr Ilie Ceausescu, by TRIBUNA: "Some Reflections on Transylvania in the Romanian People's Millennial Struggle for Freedom, Unity and Independence"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] We believe that the title of your next book, "Transilvania, Pamant Romanesc" [Transylvania, a Romanian Land], from which you have thus far published excerpts in periodicals, speaks for itself. Nevertheless, we would ask you how, and due to what inner or outer impulse of the historian, did the idea arise for this book that will be published in the 65th year after the accomplishment of the unified Romanian national state?

[Answer] To write about the history of this ancient Romanian region, to show from a historiographic viewpoint Transylvania's highly Romanian character, its indestructible ties developed over the centuries with the other provinces of ours in the Carpathian-Danubian basin, is a duty of conscience of any Romanian historian.

And today, to write about Transylvania has become a necessity dictated equally by the enormous quantity of historiographic material--written and archeological sources--that ought to be utilized on the basis of the theses of great theoretical significance regarding national formation contained in the documents of our party and, at the same time, by the more and more conspicuous place gained in the contemporary national spirituality by the awareness of the indissoluble unity of the Romanian land, by the unitary character of our people on their territory of origin. At the origin of my scientific approach there is thus a dual impulse: a scientific and historical one and a political and educational one. At the same time, I inform you that the English- and French-language versions of the book "Transilvania, Stravechi Pamint Romanesc" [Transylvania, an Ancient Romanian Land] already appeared in the middle of November 1983.

[Question] How do you view the utility of such books for the reader of history in the country and abroad?

[Answer] Obviously, the reading public will be the one who always validates the utility of a book. For readers abroad, I believe that such works are suitable for presenting to them the historical truth regarding the multimillennial



history of the Romanian people and, at the same time, for dispelling some uncertainties and certain false theories about the history of our homeland, disseminated massively by some pseudohistorians who denigrate the history of our people. As always in the history of our national culture, the history book has a militant message, it combats the falsehood advanced deliberately, for more or less obscure purposes, it states forcefully and in a well-reasoned way the historical truth, the adamant foundation of our imprescriptible rights to the national territorial heritage.

[Question] What are the chances of affirming our historiography abroad and, bearing in mind some collective and authored volumes already printed in the United States and other countries, with you also participating in some of them, what would be the ways for our historiography to reach the world?

[Answer] The affirmation of Romanian historiography on an international level is possible in proportion to the growth of our, all historians', interest in promoting and efforts to promote in every way, steadily, the truths of our millennial history so explicitly pointed out in the documents of the Romanian Communist Party. The publication of collective or authored works in prestigious publishing houses abroad--in 1983, such monographs have appeared in the United States, France and India--and of studies and articles in periodicals with wide international circulation, the matter of giving to well-known personalities of international scientific life a personal interest in studying our national history, and the publishing of valuable Romanian works in foreign languages in Romania are a few of the ways that must be utilized as heavily as possible to constantly and massively spread abroad the truth about our national history. At the same time, scientific contacts--conferences, colloquiums and congresses--with historians in other countries have a big role in attaining the same result.

[Question] Do you believe that the study of history, with the truths that hence follow, and especially these truths can contribute to better understanding between the peoples of the world, to the creation of an atmosphere of true collaboration and peace between countries and peoples?

[Answer] One of the most valuable lessons that the study of history offers us affirms that peace is inseparable from social and national progress, from the development of international collaboration and cooperation. Therefore, obviously, the study of history contributes to better understanding between peoples, to the creation of an authentic atmosphere of dialogue, of closeness, of collaboration and peace so necessary today in the contemporary world. The 15th World Congress of Historians, which was held in Bucharest in August 1980, the spirit of scientific cooperation in which it took place and the climate of understanding and collaboration prove abundantly that the historiographic front can contribute effectively to the establishment of a climate of peace and collaboration between peoples.

[Question] Returning to the meanings of the magnificent act on 1 December 1918, we feel that a stressing of them is always welcome.

[Answer] The Great Union, a process that had its culmination on 1 December 1918, represents the fulfillment of an age-old aspiration of our people, the accomplishment of the unified national state.

The presence of our ancestors--the Geto-Dacians--from time immemorial in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic area, the formation of the Romanian people, two millennia ago, through the blending of the two great civilizations--Dacian and Roman--their uninterrupted continuity in these regions, and their indestructible unity in the face of the vicissitudes of time gave adamant foundations to the incontestable rights of the Romanians to their native land, generating in our brilliant ancestors strength, heroism, bravery, ingenuity, a spirit of sacrifice in the struggle for a free, independent existence.

Transylvania represents an inseparable component in the historical Romanian unity, evinced strikingly for millennia. On this ancient Romanian land, throughout the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic area, the Romanians and their Geto-Dacian ancestors have lived from time immemorial. For hundreds of years, facing the waves of migratory populations and tribes, the Romanians, organized into voivodeships and principalities, stubbornly defended their native land and the nation's being, offered stiff opposition to any foreign aggression. In the 10th century, when the warlike Hungarian tribes began to expand toward Transylvania, they encountered the fierce resistance of the voivodeships and principalities existing there.

Due to the long and well-organized action of resistance by the Romanians, the Hungarians did not manage then to annex Transylvania to the Kingdom of Hungary, there being between the two countries relations of vassalage, characteristic of the feudal era in the international arena. Transylvania was formed and acted as an autonomous voivodeship, with incontestable Romanian traits. With the Transylvanian voivodeship being organized the same as the other Romanian countries, they constituted together, during the Middle Ages, a distinct entity in the European arena, acting in a closely united manner in the struggle against foreign domination.

One specific trait of the evolution of the Romanian countries in the Middle Ages, unusual for this area of Europe, was the autonomous continuity of their state existence, in an era in which, one after another, states in the south-eastern or central part of the continent disappeared, broken up by the expansionist great powers. Moldavia and Wallachia maintained their state autonomy, guaranteed by the Ottoman Empire, through the so-called capitulations concluded with the Romanian states. Through these treaties--as a document of the era noted--the Romanians asserted themselves "not as losers but as winners." After the battle of Mohacs in 1526, the Ottoman Empire penetrated deep into the center of Europe. In 1541, Hungary became a pashalik, there thus being recorded its disappearance as a state from the political map of Europe, a situation that was to last for hundreds of years. As regards the voivodeship of Transylvania, having an administration and laws of its own, it continued its independent existence, entering into relations of vassalage with the Ottoman Porte. Transylvania then had the same legal status as the other two Romanian countries, Wallachia and Moldavia. In this situation, Transylvania no longer had anything in common with the Hungarian kingdom, which, in fact, no longer existed.

The similarity of state existence, the unity of origin, language and customs of the Romanians throughout the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic area, which great historians of the time noted, and the development of the self-awareness of the Romanian people were to find their lawlike historical fruition in the Middle Ages.

In 1599, the illustrious voivode of all the Romanians, Michael the Brave, removed Transylvania from Ottoman suzerainty, and in 1600, he achieved the union of the three Romanian countries, creating the centralized and independent Romanian state. He thus put on the map of medieval Europe a distinct state presence, as few were on the continent at that time. Voivode "Michael," Nicolae Balcescu says, "had achieved then the beloved dream of the great voivodes of the Romanians. Now Romanian has befriended Romanian and all have one and the same homeland, one and the same national government, such as they have not been from the forgotten times of antiquity." The epochal achievement of the great Voivode Michael the Brave was to be considered, with good reason, the most brilliant act of the Romanian Middle Ages.

In the centuries that followed, the lawlike trend toward national unity continued to manifest itself with growing force, despite the continual interference of the neighboring expansionist great powers. As a result of the victories gained over the Ottomans by the Austrians, Transylvania was occupied at the end of the 17th century by the Hapsburg Empire, becoming subordinate to it in the form of a principality with institutions and laws of its own. It had a position distinct from Hungary and from the other provinces of the Hapsburg Empire.

In Transylvania, after its occupation by the Austrians, a strong struggle for national liberation was launched. Its culmination was to be, in the 18th century, the popular revolution of 1784, led by Horea, Closca and Crisan, in which the proclamation of Transylvania as an independent state, with rights and liberties for the masses, was to be openly demanded. This gigantic popular movement was to have a big reverberation in Wallachia and Moldavia, and its national demands were to be revived with greater energy during the Romanian revolution of 1848-1849.

Having a unitary causality and development throughout the Romanian area, the revolution of 1848-1849 emphasized with particular force the irreversible course of our historical evolution toward state and independent unity, toward social and national freedom.

The growth of the national liberation movement of the Romanians in Transylvania caused the Hungarian aristocracy to enter into the Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy in 1867, through which, in fact, Hungary gave up the struggle to obtain its state independence and sovereignty. One bad consequence of this agreement was the fact that for 51 years, between 1867-1918--thus, for only half a century--Transylvania was, in part, subordinate to Hungary. In this period, an unprecedented reign of terror and a brutal policy of denationalization were unleashed against the majority Romanian population. This situation contrary to historical evolution was to end forever on 1 December 1918, when, after a long and heroic struggle to affirm the imprescriptible right to self-determination, the Romanian people were to decide their fate by themselves, forging the unified Romanian national state.



In the 65 years that have passed since the historical act of the union, the Romanian people have continually affirmed their steadfast calling of reliable preserver of national unity and independence. In the years between the two world wars, in the face of the pressures of the fascist and revisionist powers, the Romanian people prepared to fight to defend the national independence and sovereignty, the territorial integrity of the homeland. Since its creation in 1921, the Romanian Communist Party has fulfilled in an exemplary manner its historical mission of uniting all the energies of the nation into a single stream in the struggle against possible foreign aggression, against any encroachment on the integrity of the ancestral homeland. The broad masses of people, led by the Communist Party, took a firm stand against the odious Vienna Diktat of 30 August 1940, by means of which, under the brutal pressure of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, there was wrested from Romania the northwestern part of the country, made a gift to Hungarian fascism, as a reward for its aggressive, revisionist policy in the international arena. During the national resistance movement, carried out heroically in the years of World War II, the objective of rejoining the stolen part of Transylvania to the mother country inspired the whole Romanian populace to fight. The beginning of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation, under the leadership of the Communist Party, also meant the outbreak of the determined struggle to restore the territorial unity of the homeland, to annul the fascist Vienna Diktat. On 25 October 1944, through the sacrifices of the army and the whole populace, the last plots of earth of the homeland were freed from Horthy's occupation.

In the era of the socialist revolution, especially in the last two decades, the whole ancestral abode has been changed from top to bottom through an unprecedented constructive effort made by the whole populace. To the very rapid economic and social development there has been added, naturally, the provision of civil rights and freedoms to the whole Romanian collectivity, to all citizens of the homeland.

As is known, over the centuries, populations of another ethnic origin also settled in the millennial Romanian dwelling place. Living among the Romanian people and siding with them in the struggle for social and national liberation, they have made and are making their contribution to the multilateral development of Romania.

In our years, the nationality problem has been solved forever in Romania, with the way in which equality has been provided to all citizens, regardless of ethnic origin, constituting a special achievement of the work of socialist construction, an example of a scientific solution to such a problem in the contemporary world. Each citizen, regardless of ethnic origin, has provided to him the inalienable right, guaranteed by the constitution, to use without hindrance and obstruction his mother tongue and the benefits of his culture, to have schools, newspapers and books, to follow his traditional customs and so on. At the same time, all citizens, regardless of ethnic origin, have the obligation to know the Romanian language, a basic condition for benefiting from the rights guaranteed to all by the constitution.

One incontestable reality of our socialist society is that the unified Romanian people live on the unified Romanian territory. "We have," the secretary



general of our party says, "one people, one country, in which Romanians as well as working people of a Hungarian, German, Serb or other ethnic origin live together. But we all represent a single people and we do not allow anyone to strike at the unity of our people." All Romanian citizens in the Socialist Republic of Romania, regardless of ethnic origin, constitute a single people, the unified Romanian people, closely united around the Romanian Communist Party, which forms the vital center of the whole nation, strongly engaged in constructing the multilaterally developed socialist society and the communist society in our millennial ancestral abode.

12105

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## ROMANIA

### POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF COOPERATION WITH SOVIETS IN CANAL CONSTRUCTION

Zuerich DIE WELTWOCHEN in German 22 Dec 83 p 6

[Article by Inge Santner: "A Canal Which Throws the Russians Out"]

[Text] For 8 years the digging went on frantically. Thirty-three thousand workers--mostly soldiers and young people supposedly fired with patriotism--were constantly at work with 600 excavators, 5,679 trucks, 90 drilling rigs and several giant cranes. Three hundred million tons of stones and earth had to be removed, 3 new harbors built from nothing, 7 bridges were erected, 100 kms of railroad line laid and 160 kms of road asphalted.

But now the Danube-Black Sea Canal is completed. Starting in the spring of 1984 it is to be open to international shipping. Bucharest is celebrating a "once in a century work," the "greatest undertaking in Romanian history," a "supreme technical feat for mankind." And perhaps it has good reason to celebrate.

The Danube, as even a fleeting glance at the map shows, behaves truly illogically. For about 2,500 kms it flows energetically from west to east, or in a southerly direction, towards the Black Sea. It overcomes all kinds of obstacles, fights its way through the foothills of the Alps, forces its way almost imperturbably through the Iron Gate. Only a short distance from its goal it capitulates in the face of the harmless hills of the eastern Romanian Dobruja. Only 50 kms from the coast it swerves to the north near Cernovoda and lengthens the journey it has almost completed to its mouth by another 300 kms.

This poorly motivated diversion has been a source of irritation since ancient times to those of various nations who wanted to improve the world. The Roman emperor Trajan (53-117 AD) dreamed of an artificial watercourse in the region of Cernavoda/Constanza. In the first half of the 19th century, Austrian engineers picked up the old idea of a short-cut canal. The Romanians have been toying with all kinds of more or less concrete projects since the end of the last century.

"Blue Highway" as a Monument

In 1949, communist Romania made the first ambitious attempt to turn the idea into reality. As was customary under Stalinism, the attempt was made to realize a gigantic project with minimal means, or more precisely: with nothing

but the muscle power of the so-called class enemies: 50,000 miserably fed forced laborers, equipped with only picks and shovels, were supposed to dig the giant ditch. Thousands died before Bucharest broke off the undertaking in 1953 because of "technical difficulties."

In 1975, Romania, which had developed in the meantime into an industrial nation, started the second attempt, almost dedicated to the greater honor of head of state Nicolae Ceausescu, who planned to erect a monument to himself with the "blue highway." This time there were enough machines, and this time it succeeded. After many delays the canal was opened on 10 October 1983 for test operation.

The artificial artery branches off from the Danube near the city of Cernovoda and angles eastward across the Dobruja to the brand-new Black Sea port of Agigea/Constanza South, during which it was necessary to cut through hills up to 70 meters high. The canal is 64.5 kms long, 70 to 90 meters wide and 7 to 8 meters deep. It has enormous concrete locks at both ends, with double basins 310 meters long by 25 meters wide by 7 meters deep. The two inland ports of Medgigia and Basarabi were built in the center sections. The most beautiful of the seven bridges spans the canal near Agigea with an 86-meter high A-form pier, which Ceausescu has declared a national symbol.

The Romanian "Suez Canal," as people like to say in Bucharest, shortens the distance to the Black Sea for ships on the Danube by a good 240 kms and it can take deep-sea freighters up to 6,000 tons and pusher barge groups up to 6 X 3,000 tons. The average time for a passage is 4 hours, while the previous route on the Danube took 18 hours downstream and 24 hours upstream.

It is probably no less important for Ceasescu that the canal literally cuts the ground from under the Soviets' feet: it saves the ships from having to use the section of the Danube that forms the border with the Soviet Union and consequently from using Soviet harbors. The USSR will no longer be able to supervise traffic on the Danube.

The Romanians are expecting really big business on the toll canal after the completion of the Rhine-Main-Danube Canal, that is, after 1992. Then they will be sitting at the end of the transcontinental shipping lane from the North Sea to the Black Sea, with Constanza as the counterpart of Rotterdam.

#### The Figures Raise Doubts

For the interim period they are hoping both for an improvement in freight shipping on the Danube and also for some impetus for Romanian industries adjacent to the canal, the shipyards in Constanza and Mangalia, the iron works combine in Calarasi and the cement works in Medgigia. As an additional by-product they are planning to irrigate the Dobruja, which has partially degenerated into steppe, with the help of the canal. The question is whether all these euphoric hopes are realistic? Western shipping experts remain skeptical. They point out that traffic on the Danube has been showing an unfavorable trend recently. Even Europe's largest river is feeling the recession. While total

freight transportation on the Danube came to 90.34 million tons in 1980 (for comparison, 285 million tons on the Rhine), it declined to 86.12 million tons in 1981. The sharp fall-off in traffic from and to the Romanian Danube delta was a crucial factor in this.

Under such moderating circumstances it requires a virtual overdose of optimism to believe stubbornly that the costs of the mammoth construction--there is talk of almost 7 billion Swiss francs, converted!--can be recovered within 25 years. That could happen only if the capacity of the canal, 90 million tons annually, were exploited fully, starting in 1984.

Certain technical considerations have also not been clarified to complete satisfaction. The test operation that has just begun will have to prove that the canal bed is reliably watertight and that the lock at Agigea can be relied upon to keep out sea water.

In spite of this, Ceausescu is plunging into additional expensive canal projects. On 23 August, Romania's national holiday, work started on a 26-km-long link between the main canal and the Black Sea port of Midia Navodari to the north of Constanza. Volume of earth removed: 86 million m<sup>3</sup>, concrete required: 1.5 million m<sup>3</sup>. And this is not enough: as a kind of crown to his life's work in preserving monuments, the Conducator (guide) is going to announce in addition the construction of a third canal between Bucharest and the Danube, "so that Bucharest will finally lie on the river."

9581

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# ROLE OF MILITARY FORCES IN 1916-1918 REVIEWED

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 21 Dec 83 p 4

[Article by Col Gen Constantin Olteanu, member of the RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee, minister of national defense, and Lt Gen Ilie Ceausescu, deputy minister of national defense and secretary of the Superior Political Council of the Army: "The Struggle for the Creation of the Unified Romanian National State Under the Domestic and International Circumstances of 1916-1918;" a report presented at the Scientific Session of the Romanian Atheneum dedicated to the anniversary of the creation of the unified Romanian national state]

[Text] The completion of the Romanian people's struggle to create its own unified national state took place under specific and complex domestic and international circumstances that characterized the second decade of this century. As comrade Nicolae Ceausescu noted, this was when "the unification within a single state - a centuries-long aspiration of the Romanians, the lofty cause for which countless generations of forefathers fought - had become an immediate objective and a stringent requirement imposed by the forward progress itself of Romanian society."

On the domestic level, the idea of the unification of the Romanians on both sides of the Carpathians into a single independent political body was expressed with unprecedented force, with numerous and varied actions directed towards the achievement of this goal taking on an impressive vigour.

The expression of the Romanians' decision regarding the achievement of national unity was noted as part of the general struggle of peoples to be free of foreign domination and to create their own independent and sovereign national states. In the name of this principle, also warmly embraced by the socialist movement in Romania, Constantin Dobrogeanu-Gherea noted, in an article published in 1914 in VIITORUL SOCIAL - the theoretic voice of Romanian social-democracy - that he felt "the achievement of the country's national ideal, as well as that of the other wronged European countries," was absolutely justified and natural.

The national struggle of the Romanians and the other peoples took place under external conditions determined by the start and carrying out of the first world war. It is known that the first world war was generated by the imperialist policy of the great powers of that era to redive the world, to acquire new markets for sales and sources of raw materials and to subjugate other nations. The imperialist

nature of the armed confrontations between the Central Powers and the Entente did not, however, exclude distinct aspects, as seen in military efforts directed towards gaining freedom from foreign domination - as was the case of Romania - or the creation of the unified national state, an ideal that was a determining factor for Romania's involvement in the war. "We," said the writer and politician Barbu Delavrancea, "did not enter into this chaos of this butchery for conquest, but for freedom... We do not want what is not ours, but we want unification with our brothers in the Ardeal, the Banat and in Bucovina... We are not cutting out a new country with the sword, we are bringing it together."

It is to the credit of the secretary general of our party to have shown the falsity, inconsistency and negative essence of certain evaluations that have been made at times in some historical and social-political works and to have restorted the truth that although "...the first world war had an imperialist nature, the Romanian people did not participate in this war guided by intentions to achieve territorial conquests and annexations; yielding to the pressures of the Entente powers, the ruling circles in the country decided to enter the war alongside England, France and Russia, which promised to satisfy our desire for national unity."

The moment for Romania's entrance into the war was decided both on the basis of national options and in the wake of an intensification in the political-diplomatic actions of the Entente powers, which had become preoccupied in an increasing degree to speed up this decision. In the summer of 1916 on the Western Front, the offensive that had been unleashed by the Germans at Verdun had been exhausted, while on the Eastern Front the advance of the Russian armies in Galicia had accentuated the difficult military situation for the Central Powers. The Allied Command estimated that Romania's military intervention would seal the fate of Austro-Hungary and, in the future, the entire enemy military bloc. Under these circumstances, under the treaty of alliance and the military agreement signed on 4/16 August 1916, Romania was obligated to start actions to liberate those Romanian territories held under the domination of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and the partners in the Entente pledged to recognize the right to self-determination of the Romanians in this empire and the unification of the territories inhabited by them with Romania.

Romania's military activities in 1916-1918 were the expression of the will of the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, the progressive groups of the bourgeoisie and all the Romanian people, who mobilized all their economic, demographic, political and military resources to attain the full unity to which they had aspired for centuries on end. The Romanian soldiers who, on 15 August 1916, crossed the Carpathians did not step onto foreign soil; they found their brothers from the same people from whom they had been separated by artificial divisions and who - as the GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI wrote - saluted "the liberating army and the army carrying out the great ideal with the most open brotherly love."

In accordance with the ancient customs, the representatives of the cities and villages met the liberating soldiers with bread and salt because "the Romanian Army," as the previously noted publication stated, "stepping upon the holy land from which the voice of our people has called out for ages, did not come with thoughts of hostility... but, on the contrary, filled with the most brotherly feelings for all our peaceful people."

The Transylvanian population, even under the difficult conditions of the rule of foreign domination, a regime much more harsh during the war, did everything it could for its part, using the most diverse means in order to speed up the liberation from the foreign rule. Approximately 30,000 Romanians came out to meet our units, asking to immediately join the ranks of the liberating forces. Countless deeds show, as is noted in a document of the era, that "...the Romanians in the subjugated lands fought alongside the soldiers of the Kingdom in order to create Greater Romania and that with their blood they attained the political unity they had dreamed about for entire centuries."

An analysis of the military effort made by the Romanian people, beginning in August 1916, shows the strong enthusiasm, the spirit of sacrifice and the belief of the Romanians everywhere in the just nature of the struggle they were carrying out and in victory. The army's participation in the epic of unification was complemented by the armed actions of the soldiers without uniforms who gave a high pledge of blood. In those territories that had been invaded by the enemy, they fought permanently and without mercy; in the free regions, the popular masses were firmly involved in supporting the Front with the necessary items. The efforts made during this years to support the national-liberation war show self-sacrifice of the Romanian workers, who ensured the supply of the army with munitions and fuels under the most difficult circumstances, of the peasants, who made available to the army the necessary agro-food products, and the cultural people, who kept up their morale.

The perspective of completing the unified national state following the first world war at the same time gave Romanian society a power and moral unity that were among the decisive factors of the event on 1 December 1918 at Alba Iulia. No matter how difficult were the situations through which Romania passed during these years - the invasion of its national territory in the fall of 1916, the rigors of the winter of 1916-1917, the extraordinary pressures exerted upon the Romanian Front in the summer of 1917 - the belief in the objective that had been proposed for achievement strengthened the will of the Romanian people to accomplish their national unity. A vigorous expression of this will was the victory of the Romanian Army at Marasesti in the summer of 1917 which represented not only a widely recognized contribution to the defeat of German militarism, but also - as comrade Nicolae Ceausescu notes - "...a decisive moment in the struggle to liberate our country and to fulfill the ideal of national unity."

In addition to the actions carried out on a political, social and military level in free Romania and in the Transylvania found under foreign domination,

mention should be made of the unity of thought of Romanians everywhere, their will to fight for the victory in which they believed, the knowing acceptance of their duties as fighters regardless of the territory where they were located in those precious moments for the fate of the Romanian nation and the numerous activities put forth to support the Romanian cause abroad. Within this framework, first place goes to the creation of Romanian units composed of former military personnel of the Austro-Hungarian army who had been taken prisoner by the armies of the Entente - the corps of volunteers in Russia and the legions in Italy and France. The volunteers of these units were, as noted by the Transylvanian officers in Italy, animated by the desire "to carry out their duties as Romanians for the people." Officers, NCOs and soldiers of the volunteer corps of the Romanian Army, former prisoners of the war in Russia noted in a memoir from 13/26 April 1917: "...with the sacrifice of our lives, we are ready to go into combat to fulfill our ideal: to unite all the people and all the Romanian territory in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, free and independent Romania."

The creation and actions undertaken by the various committees and councils in France and Italy, the newspapers and magazines published by them and the Romanian press and propaganda services in Paris, London and Stockholm and in other places are indicators of the broad range of means used during this time by the sons of the nation, regardless of the place in which they found themselves at that time in the world in the service of the country's interests and for the triumph of the cause of national unity.

The actions carried out by the Romanian militants in America - meetings, conferences, publications, appeals to the state authorities and so forth - contributed to the creation of the powerful current of opinion in favor of the liberation and unification of Transylvania with the country and played its role in determining the position of the U.S. Government in this question, which, in November 1918, announced that it would give Romania, which had always aspired to unification with its brothers in the lands of Transylvania contained between the borders of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, full support so that Romania could regain its just political and territorial rights at the general peace conference.

The unifying effort of the Romanian people, whose political final result was expressed in the historical decisions of the Grand National Assembly of Alba Iulia, resulted in the conditions for the fall of czarism and the destruction of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The news of the victory of the Russian Revolution which proclaimed the noble ideas of social liberation, peace and the rights of the people to self-determination, awoke new hopes and pushed forward the struggle for state unity and independence.

Under these domestic and international circumstances and through the struggle and sacrifice of the Romanian people, Romania fulfilled its multi-century wish and achieved a unified nation on the territories that had belonged to it always.



The creation of the unified Romanian national state had a positive influence upon Romania's entire economic, political and social evolution. The great unification created the conditions for the development of the progressive forces of society and for the intensification of the revolutionary struggle, which culminated with Romania's full affirmation as a socialist, independent and sovereign state having a high degree of prestige in the contemporary world.

In the new historic stage, one marked by the full and final victory of socialism in our country and by the transition to the building of the multi-laterally developed socialist society, national unity has taken on new dimensions, expressing itself as a decisive factor in the prospering of our country. This unity is also reflected in the area of the defense of the country, which, according to the fundamental principle of national military doctrine, as elaborated by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu during the period begun by the historic Ninth RCP Congress, is the supreme patriotic duty of each citizen and the cause and the work of all the people. For the purpose of the defense of the revolutionary advances of the Romanian people, of the country's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity - fundamental values of our society - we have created and continually improve the national defense system. This system includes the armed forces, the patriotic guards, the youth military training detachments and the civil defense formations in an harmoniously combined grouping that is capable, if need be, of subordinating its full human, material and moral potential for the purpose of repelling any aggression.

The pivotal point of the national defense system, the armed branch of the people, today's Romanian Army, earning by deeds the glorious combat traditions created by its forefathers, knows no greater interests than service of the country with unlimited devotion, being permanently ready to defend, together with the entire nation, the great structure of free, independent and sovereign socialist Romania, and to directly fulfill, with total sacrifice, the missions entrusted to it by the supreme commander, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

8724

CSO: 2700/100

## CONFLICTING TRENDS IN MORTALITY RATES EXAMINED

Bucharest VIITORUL SOCIALIST in Romanian Nov-Dec 83 pp 547-552

[Article by Vasile Ghetau]

[Text] In the 1950s and 1960s mortality rates in this country dwindled considerably, a direct consequence of economic, social, cultural and medicosanitary progress. This decline is, moreover, characteristic, in its major aspects, for all the developing countries. At the beginning of the 1960s, UN experts estimated that the advances made turned the years that followed World War II into a period of unprecedented success in the developing countries' fight against diseases and premature death. Moreover, taking life expectancy as a basis for reference in a given period, it follows that the volumes of this growth in postwar years in some of these countries have exceeded all previous records in advanced countries. [1]

Life expectancy at birth [2] undoubtedly is the most complete indicator of the condition of health and, implicitly, of the degree of material and spiritual civilization, of the level of development reached by a population. Use of this indicator for significant comparisons in time and space is indispensable.

The first mortality rate table in the postwar period is the one worked out for 1956 and indicates a life expectancy at birth of 63 years. Versus the last mortality rate table of the prewar period -- the one for the years 1930-1932 -- the value of 1956 is by no less than 21 years higher. To better grasp the dimensions of this increase we shall point out that the corresponding average annual growth rate (0.9 years) is considerably higher than that in most European countries during the same period, that the transition from 42 years to 63 years occurred in some developing countries in 75 years [3]. (versus 25 years in Romania) and that the lag vis-a-vis the advanced countries reached around the year 1958 about 8 years (in 1930-1932 it was 15-20 years) [4].

Also after 1956 life expectancy at birth continued its upward trend, with the intensity differing from one period to another (Table 1). However, recent evolutions are extremely complex. We shall dwell on these in the following passages.

Once the level of 60 years -- a high enough value in the history of a population -- was reached, the progress in life expectancy could only be slower and slower, with society's struggle against mortality reaching the components that are hardest to reduce -- the ailments specific to aging and degeneration of the body (cancer,

cardiovascular diseases....). This explains the fact that between 1964-1967 and 1976-1978, hence, during a period of about 10 years, life expectancy only went up 1.3 years, which accounts for only a quarter of the increase during the prior similar period, 1956/1964-1967.

Table 1. Life Expectancy at Birth (for Sexes) in Romania Beginning in the 1950s

Period of Reference of Mortality Rate Table	Both Sexes	Male	Female
1956	63.17	61.48	61.99
1961	65.96	64.19	67.70
1964-1967	68.51	66.45	70.51
1970-1972	68.58	66.27	70.85
1972-1974	69.08	66.83	71.29
1974-1975	69.69	67.37	71.97
1975-1977	69.76	67.45	72.06
1976-1978	69.82	67.42	72.18
1979-1980	69.39	66.50	71.90

Source: Statistical Yearbook of the Socialist Republic of Romania -- different editions, excepting the last table, worked out domestically.

The analysis of the evolution of the life expectancy after 1956 and, specifically, the formulation of some considerations on the characteristics of this evolution at the level of subperiods, require a certain amount of caution, caused by the existing mortality rate tables. In terms of the method of calculation of the probability of death, the procedures and techniques for adjusting and extrapolating this probability and also the length of the reference period there are some elements of heterogeneity that cannot be omitted (even if they could not challenge the direction of the evolutions) and need to be taken into consideration.

The data in Table 1 and the curves which could be traced by merging the values of the life expectancy in each mortality rate table, values placed in the median point of each reference period in Table 1, point out two periods of stagnation in the growth of life expectancy: the first, in the years 1965-1970, and the second, after 1975 (the delimitation of these periods is relative, considering the years of reference of mortality rate tables).

The stagnation in the rise of life expectancy in this country, as indicated by the data in Table 1, involves a very complex evolution, which is surprising for the time when it occurs and contradictory by its traits. Its in-depth examination indisputably is a necessity of greatest topicality and importance although, as we shall see, the analyst encounters many difficulties.

Some trends of rise in mortality rate in Europe, specifically in the male population of adult or advanced age, appeared as far back as the 1960s. The evolution surprised the experts especially because it could not be explained by the reaching of some already very high values of the life span. If these trends had amplified they could have heralded the first significant reversal of the downward trend of mortality rate

noted in Europe for more than a century. But because the return of the phenomenon to a favorable evolution was not long in occurring, it was concluded that it was a matter of a situational evolution. Today, we again witness contradictory evolutions of mortality rates in developed countries and it is estimated that one should not exclude the hypothesis of a possible structural and not only situational crisis of the mortality rate. Actually we are witnessing a rise in the proportion of the mortality rate caused by degenerative diseases and especially by the diseases whose etiology can be directly tied to ecological hazards. This rise cannot only be explained by the ageing of populations, because it also occurs in adult ages.

This is the European context of the mortality rate and the analysis of the evolution of the phenomenon in Romania cannot neglect it.

The brief examination of the curves mentioned above point out the surprising inflection after the year 1965. Placed in the overall flow of the curves, this inflection may generate the following question: what is real -- the stagnation after 1965 or the spectacular rise in 1960-1965, a rise which, if unreal, actually produces the false trend of stagnation in the years 1965-1970? This question is justified by the fact that the stagnation in life expectancy during the 1965-1970 period appears as being abnormal in light of the experience of European populations, by and large, and the considerably lower level of life expectancy at the time of the appearance of the process in this country.

The analysis of mortality rates according to the various age groups after 1955 [6] indicates the overall decline in these rates until the second half of the 1960s, followed by a relative stagnation of values until around the year 1970. In this context, life expectancy at birth -- an indicator that synthesizes all the movements of mortality rates according to the various ages -- could only have a similar evolution. The eventual question marks as to the methods used, the rigorousness of the calculations and, hence, the results of the mortality rate tables for the years 1961, 1964-1967 and 1970-1972 must be eliminated, as our own formulations (abbreviated tables for the same periods) perfectly confirm the accuracy of the tables published. For the purpose of removing even the last trace of doubt as to the quality of the information available, we proceeded to verifying the mortality rates proper. While for the annual series on the number of deaths according to sexes and age groups we do not practically have instruments for verification of the reliability of statistical information (but we have enough reasons to consider them at least satisfactory both in terms of the exhaustiveness of recording and the quality of information) the situation is somewhat different as to the annual series on the distribution of the population according to sexes and ages (hence the denominator of the formula of the mortality rate). The analysis of these factors can provide sound information on the quality of the data.

The members of a generation can only experience one evolution in time: permanent diminution under the influence of mortality (we exclude the effects of migration, which, anyway, are unimportant in the matter we tackle). The anomalies in the quality of the data on the distribution of the population according to the various ages and the point when they appear could be easily noticed if we had a long series of the number of the population according to age years (at the beginning or the middle of the year). Because we do not have such a series, we used the distribution of the median population according to five-year age groups, a distribution that starts



with the year 1957. Such a distribution can only provide part of the information which we are seeking, because of the concealment of the annual variations in the five-year dimension of the age group.

By using the Lexis diagram we can easily note that the median body of the population in a five-year age group during a calendar year represents the median number of the survivors of the same group of generations that represented, five years earlier, the median body of the population in the previous five-year group [7]. Hence, it is possible to survey the numerical evolution of generations.

It is known that the population according to age groups at the beginning of a calendar year is obtained by proceeding from the population according to age groups at the beginning of the previous year and taking into consideration of the (natural and migratory) movement of the population during the course of the year. The date of the census is the starting point of the calculations. In other words, the calculation of the number of the population at the beginning of the years 1967-1977 is based on the results of the census of 15 March 1966 and the statistical information on the natural and migratory movement of the population (adequately treated, according to the double classification -- generation and age) in the interval 15 March 1966-1 January 1967 and in each of the years 1967-1976. The data provided by the following census -- the one of 5 January 1977 -- translated upon the above method on 1 January 1977, involve a means of verifying the exactitude of the calculations in previous years. But things are far more complex in terms of detecting the source of potential errors. If we admit that the body of a generation on 1 January 1977, calculated by proceeding from the data of the 1966 census and taking into consideration the natural and migratory movement that affected this generation in the years 1966-1976, differs from the body of the same generation on 1 January 1977, obtained by proceeding from the census of 5 January 1977, it is evident that we are in the presence of an error: either that the figure of the 1977 census is not very precise, or that, conversely, the figure of the 1966 census is affected by errors or, a third possibility, the figures on the natural and migratory movement that affected the body of the generation in the years 1966-1976 involve errors. Evidently, errors at all three levels are not excluded.

The complexity of the problem results, also in countries with the best demographic statistics, in the appearance of some irregularities in the evolution of bodies of generations in time. There are very many methods and techniques for detecting the errors and correcting the series of data proceeding from the data provided by the last census, data considered to be better than those of the prior census [8]. However, these operations in some cases become extremely difficult.

The regression which we made is designed to provide the readers with a few elements for a better understanding of the data and considerations which we will further make.

The mortality rate table for 1964-1967, on the one hand, and the tables for the years 1970-1972 and 1972-1974, on the other hand, are developed on the basis of distributions of the population according to age groups that result from two censuses: used for the first table were the distributions according to age groups in the four years, distributions that are based on the results of the 1956 census [9], while the tables for 1970-1972 and 1972-1974 are based on the distributions according to age groups that stem from the 1966 census. Proceeding from the hypothesis that the stagnation

of the rise in life expectancy during the 1965-1970 period is a surprising evolution, we naturally asked ourselves whether this evolution is not determined, at least partly, by the quality and discontinuities of the series of data used in the preparation of the mortality rate tables.

The examination of the evolution of the average body of generations in 1965 versus 1960 indicates the existence of important irregularities. The median body of the 1960-1955 generations decreased in 1960-1965 by 30,000. If the decrease is normal, we cannot judge its intensity for the time being. We find an abnormal evolution in the 1955-1950 generations: the median body of these generations grows by 16,000 between 1960 and 1965! The error is evident. For the 1950-1925 generations, there are noted decreases in the median bodies, decreases which, when analyzed comparatively, also show abnormal evolutions. The 1940-1935 generations, for instance, experienced a reduction of only 5,000 persons, while the 1945-1940 generations, less numerous at birth, between 1960 and 1965 recorded a seven times greater decrease.

The significance of evolutions between 1960 and 1965 is incomparably richer if they are viewed in light of the evolutions between 1965 and 1970, because the values of 1970 are based on the 1966 census. Since this census can be considered clearly superior, under all aspects, to that of 1956, also the evolutions between 1965 and 1970 must be assessed as being more correct than those between 1960 and 1965. In this hypothesis, what statements can we make?

The 1960-1955 generations in 1970 have a median body by 17,000 greater than in 1965, while in the prior period 1960-1965 they had experienced a decrease of almost 30,000 people. Hence, the bodies of these generations were considerably underrated in the years before the 1966 census. The situation is reversed for the 1955-1950 generations. The 1950-1925 generations record both in 1960-1965 and in 1970-1975 decreases in the median bodies. But here also -- excepting the 1940-1935 generations -- the decreases spotlight incoherences, with the reductions being smaller in the 1965-1970 period versus the prior period, an abnormal evolution, also attesting an underrating of the bodies before 1966. As mortality increases with ageing, the differences between the median body of one group of generations should have a similar evolution in time. However, we note that these differences are smaller in the 1970-1975 period versus the 1965-1970 period for the 1960-1940 generations.

What could be the significance of these evolutions, that were reviewed briefly, for the manifestations of life expectancy? The fact that during the 1965-1970 and 1970-1975 periods the decrease in the median bodies of generations is -- artificially -- slower could be an indication of the mechanism by which the mortality rates manifest the trend toward stagnation in the second half of the 1960s and the first half of the 1970s, a period in which also life expectancy experiences a similar evolution. Consequently, we advance the hypothesis that the evolution of life expectancy in the 1960s and the first years of the subsequent decade, as it follows from the existing tables, does not fully correspond to reality, as a result of the quality of information on the distribution of the population according to age groups and the discontinuities produced by the 1966 census. It is possible that, for these reasons, the level resulting from the 1964-1967 table may be overrated, and this would generate the trend toward false stagnation in 1965-1970.

In spite of the inflection of 1965-1970, life expectancy marked subsequently upward evolutions. The tables for 1976-1978 indicate a life expectancy of 69.8 years, the highest value known in this country. The insignificant decrease in male life expectancy between 1975-1977 and 1976-1978 cannot invalidate our assertion. The mortality rate table for 1979-1980, however, indicates an overall and fairly significant decrease in the indicator: 0.9 years for males and 0.3 years for females -- versus the table for 1976-1978.

In face of such a surprising evolution of life expectancy in recent years, we may in this case too ask ourselves whether the reevaluation of the structure for the various age groups in light of the 1977 census could have a certain impact on this evolution. A comparison of the two distributions of the population according to age groups -- on 1 January 1977 -- the one based on the 1966 census and the one based on the census of 5 January 1977 -- indicates differences, in one way or another, for almost all ages. These differences must not be surprising, because, within certain limits, their sources of production are multiple and hence inevitable, specifically during a relatively long period like the one between the two censuses. The differences that are noted do not have a systematic character and a certain compensation is easily excusable. The most relevant procedure of evidencing and quantification of the potential effects which the reevaluation of the structure according to age groups, following the 1977 census, has on the level of life expectancy is the preparation of the mortality rate table for 1977 by using both distributions according to age groups. The calculations made in this manner indicate -- for the overall population -- almost identical values of life expectancy: 69.67 years with the (median) population uncorrected and 69.61 years with the corrected one. Hence, the decrease in life expectancy at the end of the 1970s is an actual evolution and its study is an indisputable desideratum.

The source of the decrease in life expectancy in 1979-1980 lies in mortality rates in the middle ages (between 40 and 60 years). The main causes of death for which the rates are on the increase are the diseases of the circulatory system, tumors and maladies of the digestive system. Are we in the presence of a situational evolution or is it a matter of a profound trend? We believe that it is not possible now to provide a sufficiently motivated answer to such a question.

Moreover, statistical information after 1980 indicates an amelioration of the orientation of the phenomenon, the mortality rate resulting from the main causes of death experiencing a moderate decline just as the mortality rates for the various age groups, mostly localized after 50 years. The process is more significant in women. The consequence of this amelioration involves the redress of life expectancy at birth, its value in 1981-1982 going up to 69.6 years but remaining lower than that for the 1974-1978 period.

The evolutions are contradictory and only reinforce the need for in-depth, multidisciplinary studies, even if we were not witnessing unfavorable situational manifestations.

The reservation which we express on the durability and profundity of the new and surprising evolution of the mortality rate and, hence, of life expectancy in recent years results not only from the relatively recent origin of the process but also from the perspective of the historic evolution of the mortality rate. Even though



the mortality rate in this country matches the characteristics of European mortality rates, in comparison to developed countries life expectancy at birth is by 4-5 years shorter. The current trend toward stagnation of the increase is premature and contrary to the evolutions known in developed countries during the period posterior to the one in which those countries reached a life expectancy level similar to that in this country in the years 1976-1978. (It is a matter of the end of the 1950s and the beginning of 1960s).

The rise in the mortality rate is a negative process under every aspect and, at the same time, an extremely complex evolution in terms of causal factors. We believe that rigorous sociomedical studies to identify the causal factors and the mechanism of action are imperatively necessary.

Studies and research conducted in some developed countries [10] on the mortality rate and the impact of the different factors on its structure in light of causes of death provide a number of new elements in approaching the matter. The factors with the most significant action on the health of the population may be classified into four categories: biological and hereditary factors; the way (style) of life; the environment; the quality of health service. The impact of these factors is different on the causes of death. In the United States of America, for instance, the biological and hereditary factors, in 1975, were responsible for 68% of deaths [11] caused by diabetes, 39% of deaths caused by influenza and pneumonia and only 2% of deaths caused by suicide. The environment is responsible for 35% of deaths by suicide, 31% of death by accidents (excepting traffic accidents) and only 8-9% of deaths caused by heart diseases, arteriosclerosis and cirrhosis. The most significant incidence of medical care -- 18% -- is found in deaths caused by influenza and pneumonia, arteriosclerosis, and the lowest incidence -- 3% -- in death caused by cirrhosis and suicide. The style of life is responsible for at least half of deaths caused by six of the ten major causes of death: heart diseases (54%), cerebrovascular diseases (50%), traffic accidents (69%), other accidents (51%), cirrhosis (70%), suicide (60%). Without involving such a proportion (at least 50%), the style of life is on the first place also for deaths caused by cancer (37%) and arteriosclerosis (49%). Hence, left are only the deaths caused by influenza, pneumonia and diabetes, the ones in which the style of life is not a major factor. In both cases, the biological and hereditary factors are predominant. In the overall deaths caused by the ten major causes of deaths, the four categories of factors involve the following proportions: 48% -- the style of life; 26% -- the biological and hereditary factors; 16% -- the environment; and 11% -- the quality of health service.

How relevant is the application of this classification of the factors with the most significant impact on health for evolutions in this country? We do not have the information needed for quantification of the role of the four categories in mortality caused by the major causes of death in our country. But certainly, the rise in mortality caused by the diseases of the circulatory system, tumors and maladies of the digestive system is the outcome of the factors in the style of life group. Prominent among the factors in this group are: smoking, alcohol abuse, high blood pressure, nutrition, physical exercise and stress. Profound and representative sociomedical studies would surely also point out the role and action of these factors in the evolution of the mortality rate in this country. However, it is certain that the way of life, individual behavior nowadays are major factors (of increasing import) in reaching a high life expectancy. Equally true, however, is the fact that this



shift of "decision-making" and possibility into the hands of the individual does not diminish the role of medical care and the responsibility of society. Because the role in dissemination of knowledge and information, in provision of care and the quality of the environment is decisive for the realization of individual behavior oriented toward good health and a long span of life.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Nations Unies, "Bulletin Demographique des Nations Unies, No 6, 1962, Traitant Plus Particulierement de l'Etat et de l'Evolution Recente de la Mortalite Dans le Monde," New York, 1963, p 11.
2. An indicator that must not be mistaken for the median age of the population at a given point or the median age at death during a particular period (in general during a calendar year).
3. Nations Unies, "Causes et Consequences de l'Evolution Demographique" [Causes and Consequences of Demographic Evolution," Vol. I, New York, 1976, p 118 (Table V2).
4. For details see Vasile Ghetau, "Life Expectancy of Population in Romania," VIITORUL SOCIAL, No 1, 1978, pp 142-152.
5. Nations Unies, "Etude sur la Situation Economique de l'Europe en 1974. Deuxieme Partie. L'Evolution Demographique de l'Europe Depuis la Guerre et les Perspectives Jusqu'en l'An 2000" [Study on the Economic Situation of Europe in 1974. Second Part. Demographic Evolution of Europe Since the War and Perspectives Until the Year 2000], New York, 1976, p 24.  
  
G. Caselli and V. Egidi, "Geographie de la Mortalite en Europe: Influence de l'Environnement et de Certains Aspects du Comportement," International Population Conference, Manila, 1981, Vol. 2 -- Solicited Papers, IUSSP, p 165.
6. See: Central Directorate for Statistics -- National Commission on Demography, Demographic Yearbook of the Socialist Republic of Romania, 1974, Bucharest, 1974, pp 250-251.
7. For instance: the median number of the population aged 5-9 years is obtained as simple arithmetic mean of the population aged 5-9 years on 1 January 1970 -- the survivors of the generations 1960-1964 and of that aged 5-9 years on 31 December 1970 (or 1 January 1971) -- the survivors of the generations 1961-1965. The median number of the survivors of the same generations -- on 1 January 1965 and 31 December 1965 (or 1 January 1966) -- represent the median number of the population aged 0-4 years in the year 1965.
8. The statement has a general character and is based on the continuous amelioration of the organization of censuses, recording and treatment of information. However, it cannot be absolutized.
9. At the time of the preparation of the table the detailed results of the 1966 census could not be available for recalculation of the population according to age groups in 1966 and 1967.

10. M. Lalonde, "A New Perspective on the Health of Canadians," Office of the Canadian Minister of National Health and Welfare, Government of Canada, Ottawa, 1974; "Healthy People, The Surgeon General's Report on Health Promotion and Disease Prevention." U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington, D.C., 1979.
11. At ages 1 and over (hence infant deaths are excluded) in all the cases quoted in continuation.

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CSO: 2700/101

## WESTERN PRESS GIVES DETAILS ON GAZI AFFAIR

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 21 Jan 84 p 4

[Excerpt] Pavle Gazi, former Croatian interior minister who resigned last year, has now been removed from the Central Committee and the Croatian LC, as recently reported. The official report is so formulated that it raises questions and speculations among the public. The report "discloses" that a conflict between Gazi and the Croatian party leadership was involved, without giving the causes for this.

One now hears from informed circles that Croatian party chief Josip Vrhovec, former Yugoslav foreign minister, is in the center of the conflict. The subject of the disagreement are unpublished documents which could cast new light on an important chapter in Yugoslav party history, especially on the role of the Comintern and the Croatian Communist Party. The affair is particularly explosive since at present a process of "coming to terms with the past" is underway in Yugoslavia. Without directly mentioning it, Prof Stane Dolanc (the minister of interior will soon be given a chair at the Faculty for "State Security and Social Self-Protection" in Skopje) indirectly referred to it in a lecture in Skopje in which he made basic observations regarding political and police interference.

Authentic documents show that the "Gazi Affair" began on 1 September last year, at the latest, when Vladimir Dedijer, whose latest Tito biography has been the subject of sharp criticism from party circles, and Josip Kopinic, whose book about his activity as a Comintern agent in Croatia before and during the war has raised even more dust, sent a letter to the Croatian parliament. In this letter they complained about a number of oppressive measures taken against them in connection with their publications. Above all, Kopinic protested that his residence in Pula had been searched on 20 May when he himself was in Belgrade. Neighbors told him that uniformed police had spent 5 or 6 hours in his apartment and had also broken open walls.

They were obviously searching for documents suspected of being in Kopinic's possession. Kopinic declared in the letter that neither the Croatian nor the federal police admitted to this action.

This means that one must assume Gazi first learned of the affair from the letter of the two party historians. Croatian party chief Josip Vrhovec

appears to have been responsible for the police action. So it is said that Gazi defended himself against such political interference and obviously (this can be deduced from the official Central Committee report) did not keep his opinion to himself. The report says Pavle Gazi discredited himself morally and politically by seeking to spread distrust in the Croatian LC and its leadership.

Dolanc explicitly criticized this phenomenon: interference by the state police in political matters and personalities. He said the investigation of oppositional positions is not the task of the police; such cases should be handled rather by sociopolitical structures such as the party, the Socialist Alliance, youth organization, etc. In his lecture Dolanc joined a discussion which has been going on for several months in judicial and other circles on the problem of Paragraph 133 of the Yugoslav Criminal Code which permits the prosecution of "verbal" political crimes with punishment up to 10 years in prison.

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